

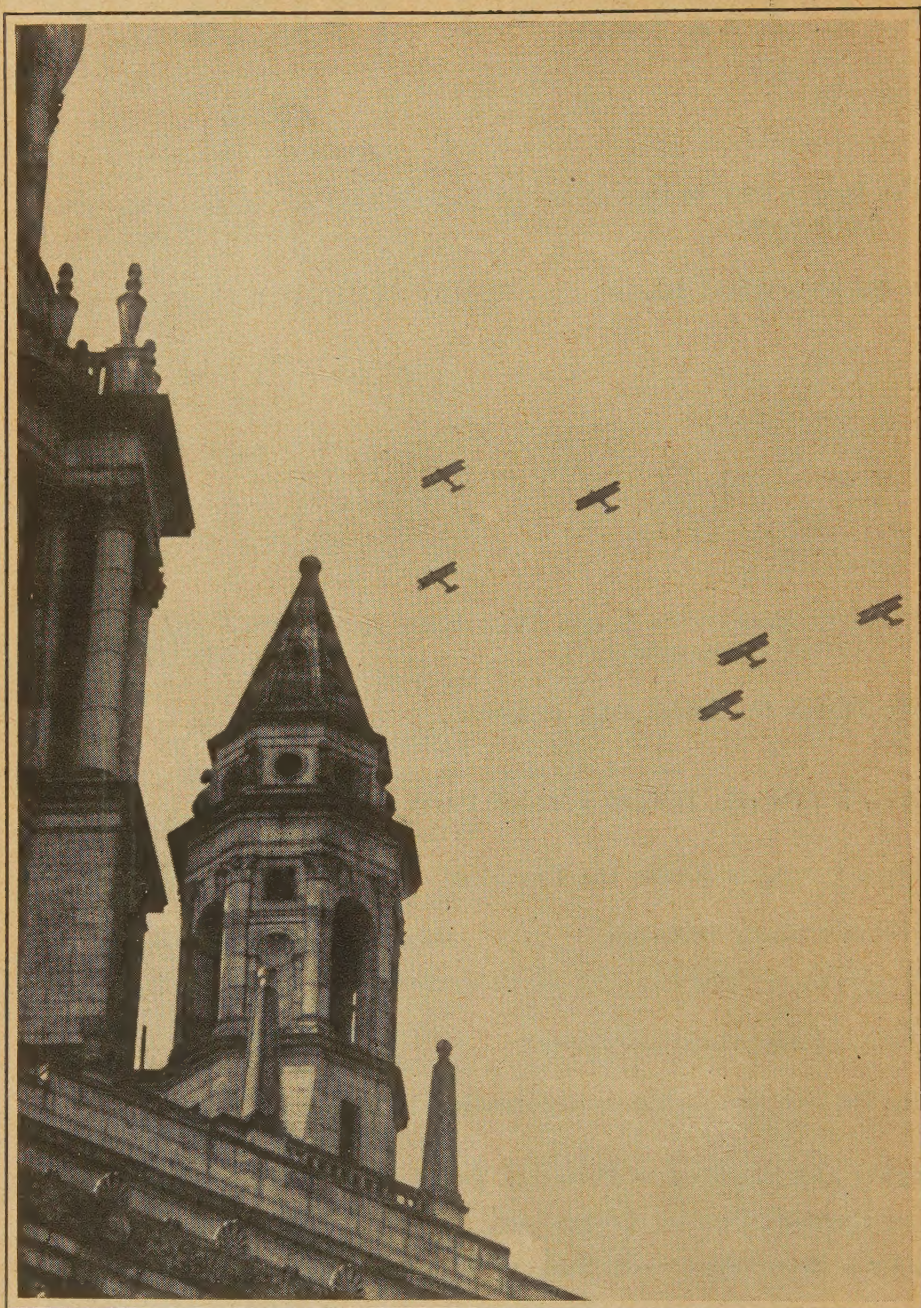
CURRENT HISTORY

VOL. XXI.

OCTOBER, 1924

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International

The three American round-the-world airplanes, under the command of Lieutenant Lowell H. Smith, escorted by three other airplanes, flying over the Municipal Building on their arrival in New York from Boston, on Sept. 8. A little later the same afternoon the machines landed at Mitchel Field, Long Island. The flight round the world began at Santa Monica, near Los Angeles, Cal., on March 17, 1924

The Dawes Plan in Operation

First Results of the Reparations Agreement

By ROBERT McELROY

Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University.

ALTHOUGH the last crisis of the Interallied Conference in London seemed to have passed on Aug. 10, when the German delegates signed the three important accords relating to deliveries in kind, negotiations continued until Aug. 16 for the purpose of reaching an agreement upon various problems which still presented grave difficulties.

The "Big Seven" met on Aug. 11 and heard from Premier Herriot a hopeful report of his visit to Paris. Then followed a meeting on the same day of the Council of Fourteen to approve of various committee reports. More important, consultations took place between Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, and M. Herriot, and between Dr. Stresemann, Chancellor Marx and the Belgian Premier, Theunis, on the German demand for a speedy military evacuation of the Ruhr. This the Allies were anxious to grant, provided it could be done in such a way as not to endanger legitimate interests of France and Belgium. As there were many points to consider, such, for example, as the guarantee of a supply of coke sufficient to enable the French to exploit the ore of Lorraine, a full meeting of French, Belgian and German delegates was arranged for Aug. 13.

When the delegates met on the day named it at once became evident that the work of the conference would be over as soon as a definite date could be agreed upon for the evacuation of the Ruhr. All committees save one had given notice that their reports were ready for signature and that one, the jurists'

committee, was only waiting for certain textual modifications which must be made after the question of military evacuation of the Ruhr should be decided upon.

The contention of the French and the Belgians was that they should be allowed to remain in the Ruhr for one year after the Dawes report began to operate in order to be certain that Germany would carry out the program there laid down in good faith and without evasion. The Germans, on the other hand, insisted that the Ruhr occupation should cease on Jan. 10, 1925, or at the very latest six months after the coming into force of the Dawes plan. After a protracted session that brought no agreement the conference adjourned. The renewed discussions of the next day (Aug. 14) failed to break the deadlock. Foreign Minister Stresemann kept his counsel, although he was known to have had direct communication with Berlin, where President Ebert, after an hour's consultation with his Ministers, gave out the following enigmatic statement: "The Council of Ministers declared itself thoroughly in agreement with the German delegation in London." Most of the administration papers in Berlin gave prominence to the view that Germany could not wait twelve months for the evacuation of the Ruhr, although their correspondents had assured them that in the Council of Fourteen in London all voices were for M. Herriot's demand, even the Americans insisting that Germany should yield. The same day (Aug. 14) the American Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, arrived back

in America and his only comment was this: "I am hopeful and optimistic as to the result of the London Conference."

DEADLOCK BROKEN

The deadlock was broken on Aug. 15. Chancellor Marx had gone to bed at dawn, worn out with the long contest and the fear of failure. He had scarcely fallen asleep when a dispatch arrived from Berlin indicating the desire of the President and his counselors that an agreement should be reached, even upon the basis of the French contention, if need be. In consequence, negotiations were resumed, and all through the morning the German delegates kept in close touch with their Government by means of a private wire which Premier MacDonald had placed at their disposal. At length there came a 7,000-word dispatch giving Chancellor Marx full information upon certain matters which had been causing him anxiety, notably the point of view of the more important leaders in Berlin and other parts of Germany. In substance it declared that President Ebert and the leaders whose opinions he had asked were ready to accept the French proposals with regard to the military evacuation of the Ruhr in order to insure the operation of the Dawes plan. There were of course qualifications, suggestions for fresh argument and protests against dictation to Germany; but the dispatch convinced the German Chancellor that he might safely accept conditions which he knew to be obtainable. He therefore notified Premier MacDonald that he was ready to lay before him the final decisions of the Germans, it being their desire to make the British Premier the intermediary of communication with the French and Belgians.

Premier MacDonald gladly accepted the duty thus demanded of him, and at once received Dr. Marx and Dr. Stresemann at 10 Downing Street, but when they suggested that the Allies guarantee the French evacuation of the Ruhr he flatly refused, declaring that to be a matter entirely between the Germans,

the French and the Belgians. He, however, clearly intimated to his visitors his belief that the conference considered it Germany's wisest course to accept the French offer. From Downing Street Dr. Marx and Dr. Stresemann went to M. Herriot and, after an interview of two hours, communiqués were issued by the French, in which appeared the significant phrase, "a favorable result," and by the Germans who declared that "positive results might be expected next day." In Berlin late that evening (Aug. 15) Dr. Karl Jarres, the German Vice Chancellor and Minister of the Interior, called the German editors to Government headquarters and plainly intimated that the solid international front opposing the German demands in London had made further resistance useless, unless Germany was prepared to take the responsibility of wrecking the conference and scrapping the Dawes plan.

He was able, however, to point to one fact capable of being interpreted as in part the equivalent of the guarantee of actual evacuation of the Ruhr, which Premier MacDonald had refused to give, namely that Frank B. Kellogg, the American Ambassador, and the American bankers, having thrown their decisive support to Herriot, American political and financial interests might be counted upon to watch, if not actually to protect, legitimate German interests in the Ruhr, and to see that promises made to Germany should be fulfilled. Other conferences followed, each making it even clearer that the choice between taking the blame for the failure of the conference, and therefore of the Dawes plan, and accepting M. Herriot's twelve months' additional occupation of the Ruhr was already made by the most influential Germans. President Ebert did not hesitate to argue that if M. Herriot were compelled to return to Paris without carrying this point, the French Nationalists would wreck his Ministry and bring Poincaré back into power. The situation in Paris, especially in the Senate, fully justified that warning. With the French that additional twelve months in the Ruhr was

a matter of national pride, unimportant in itself, but of vast potential meaning in French politics. Herriot had already cut his demand from two years to one, and he dared not go further.

LOAN RESPONSIBILITY

During the final discussions on Aug. 16 a plea put forward by the German delegation in regard to Germany's responsibility for the Dawes plan loan was taken up and the following agreement made:

It is agreed that the putting into execution of the Dawes scheme and arrangements for the carrying out of the purposes embodied in the present agreement depend on the issue of a loan of 800,000,000 gold marks for the purpose of the plan and are conditional on the said issue.

The allied Governments, desiring that this loan be successfully raised and contemplating that the loan will be a first lien on the security pledged thereto, will invite the central banks in their respective countries to use their good offices to facilitate the placing of the loan.

When this agreement was passed it was suggested by the American observers that it implied certain compulsion upon or the committal of certain banks and on this point the Americans made reservations with the result that the following annotation was presented and accepted by the conference and placed on record: "We understand this resolution does not restrict the German Government's freedom in negotiating the loan with bankers of its own selection."

Shortly before 9 P. M. on Aug. 16, after a session of the Plenary Council of the London Conference—its official title—lasting nearly three hours, the final protocol registering the agreement of all the powers concerned on application of the experts' report on German reparations was signed and in some cases initialed by the chief delegates. "We are offering the first really negotiated agreement since the war," was the comment of the British Prime Minister, who also announced to the conference that an agreement had been arrived at by France, Belgium and

Germany in regard to military evacuation of the Ruhr, which was outside the limits of the experts' report with which the conference had been directly concerned, but which was essentially connected with the success of the plan now adopted. Evacuation of the Ruhr would take place within a maximum of twelve months, beginning that day, and certain portions of the occupied territory would be evacuated with expedition as proof that France and Belgium wanted to do all that in the public opinion of those countries it was possible to do to insure the working of the Dawes scheme. He then addressed himself directly to the German people, upon whom he wished to impress the fact that the conference had created a system of arbitration which would enable them to watch the working of the experts' plan, and that the agreements just reached marked an ending of the period of national isolation.

Ambassador Kellogg, predicting that the London conference would take a high place in history, said:

I believe that more than four weeks of careful study and intercourse between the delegates have demonstrated that the Dawes report was the greatest piece of constructive work of modern times, and I wish, on behalf of my country, to extend to General Dawes and his associates my sincere congratulations. From the very beginning * * * this plan has had the hearty and loyal support of the President of the United States and of the American people. Complicated and difficult as the problems were, that report has stood the test of the most careful scrutiny and has been the basis of this settlement. * * *

As the final crisis in the conference was due to differences over the time and manner of evacuating the Ruhr, the letters embodying the agreement are of especial interest. The first letter, signed jointly by Premier Herriot of France and Premier Theunis and Foreign Minister Hymans of Belgium, dated Aug. 16, to Chancellor Marx, read:

EVACUATION PROMISE

We have the honor to acquaint you with the following declaration, which we make in the name of our two Governments:

"The French and Belgian Governments, confirming their former declarations concerning the terms on which occupation of the Ruhr has been effected by them in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, but resolved to respect the engagements then taken whereby the occupation was aimed only to secure from Germany guarantees for execution of her reparation obligations, declare that, provided the agreements of London are freely entered into and are applied in the spirit of loyalty and pacification which has inspired the deliberations of the conferences, they will proceed to military evacuation of the Ruhr territory in the maximum period of one year, dating from today."

Chancellor Marx's formal acknowledgment read:

In noting this declaration I desire to maintain the point of view defended from time to time by the German Government, according to which occupation of German territory outside the German frontiers fixed by Article 428 of the Versailles Treaty cannot be recognized as legal. At the same time I desire to express here my conviction that it will be desirable to hasten as much as possible the military evacuation in order to terminate it before the date fixed by you.

The third letter, signed jointly by MM. Herriot, Theunis and Hymans, said:

At the moment approaching the close of the London Conference, which marks an important effort to establish a régime of international concord, the French and Belgian Governments, desirous of giving immediate and spontaneous proof of their will to peace and their confidence in the engagements freely entered into, decide that they will order, on the day following the definitive signature of the London agreement, the military evacuation of the zone of Dortmund and the territories outside that of the Ruhr occupied since Nov. 15, 1923. This military evacuation will take place at the same time as economic evacuation of the same zones.

The fourth and last letter, from Chancellor Marx, formally acknowledged receipt of the foregoing communication, and after repeating the undertakings stated in it, read:

I am glad of this decision which, relying upon the agreements we have entered into, you have taken in order to re-establish peace. The German Government is resolved to be

guided by the same spirit. It hopes that the execution of this decision will mark the commencement of a new era which will lead to a fruitful and peaceful development of the relations between our countries.

Copies of the final protocol of the London Conference on the application of the plan presented to the Reparation Commission on April 9, 1924, by the First Committee of Experts appointed by it on Nov. 30, 1923, were issued on the evening of Aug. 16. The protocol itself was a brief document, printed in French and English and initialed by the British Prime Minister, as President, Secretary General Sir Maurice Hankey, the allied Secretaries, the German Secretary, and a representative of the Reparation Commission. The representatives of the United States "with specifically limited powers" did not sign. The protocol declared:

The representatives of the parties concerned will meet in London on Aug. 30 next, in order to effect, at one and the same session, the formal signatures of the documents which affect them and have not already been signed. On this occasion a certified copy of the agreement concluded between the Allied Governments will be communicated to the German Government.

An Associated Press dispatch of Aug. 17 described a striking episode at the final session of the conference:

The signing of the documents was ended, and the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, was shaking hands all around. When he came to Chancellor Marx, the Prime Minister, still gripping the Chancellor's hand, led him to where M. Herriot, the French Premier, was standing surrounded by friends. Without a word * * * Mr. MacDonald lifted M. Herriot's right hand and joined it with that of Dr. Marx. Then he stepped back, smiling genially, while the Frenchman and the German tightened the grip.

In Germany the Reichstag was at once summoned to meet on Aug. 25 to pass the auxiliary laws necessary to make the Dawes plan effective. In France, Premier Herriot, in quick fulfillment of the spirit and letter of his promises, and in cooperation with the Belgian Government, ordered the evacu-

ation of the towns of Offenburg and Appenweier to be carried out within forty-eight hours from the time of adjournment of the London conference. Before the evening of Aug. 19 the French troops had withdrawn not only from the towns but also from the villages and suburbs of Waltersweiler, Windschlag, Eberweiler, Rautersweiler, Fessenbach, Ortenberg, Elgersweiler, Hausweiler, Schutterweiler and Landstrasse. But rapid as were the actions of France, Great Britain acted no less promptly. On Aug. 18 Premier MacDonald sent to Premier Herriot and Premier Theunis a letter to "reiterate in writing the position of the British Government," as he had "so frequently explained it during the last two or three days," continuing as follows:

BRITISH ATTITUDE

The British Government has never recognized the legality of the occupation of the Ruhr or the interpretation of the clauses in the Treaty of Versailles upon which their allies acted. They hoped that, as that occupation was undertaken solely for economic purposes, it would be withdrawn as soon as the Dawes report was put in operation. * * * The occupying powers have agreed to accept an arrangement by which the occupation shall not extend beyond twelve months from this date, but may be terminated earlier. The British Government, without prejudice to the position which they and their predecessors have taken up as to the interpretation of the treaty, but being anxious to see the Dawes report in operation, * * * urge most strongly that the Governments concerned should take every possible step to hasten evacuation, as, in the opinion of the British Government, continued occupation may prejudice the working of the Dawes plan and jeopardize the arrangements agreed to at the London Conference.

Premier Herriot on Aug. 21 faced a test vote of the French Parliament, and won by 320 to 209 in the Chamber and by 177 to 109 in the Senate. The same day Chancellor Marx, backed by the Reichsrat, composed of members of the Governments of the Federated States, who had approved all the legislation dealing with the Dawes plan, warned the members of the Reichstag that if the Government did not obtain from

the Reichstag before Aug. 30 the two-thirds majority necessary for passing the laws needed for the execution of the Dawes report, it would be the Government's duty to get a new Reichstag, instructed by the people to vote yes on the London compact and on the laws which it made necessary. The opposition, however, was very strong among the members of the Reichstag, the Nationalists taking the lead. The Herriot Government on Aug. 26 faced its final vote in the Senate, and won by the huge majority of 206 to 40. The following day Chancellor Marx received a rebuff at the hands of a riotous Reichstag, his Dawes Railroad bill failing to get the necessary two-thirds majority on the second reading. On the third reading, on Aug. 29, however, the Reichstag gave the Government more than a two-thirds majority for the Railroad bill, thus automatically sanctioning the London agreement and the Dawes report. The vote was 314 for the bill and 127 against it.

As fixed by the protocol of the conference, the actual signing of the documents took place at the Foreign Office in London on Aug. 30 with formalities and without speeches. Sir Eyre Crowe, Chief Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, presided and signed for Great Britain. The American Ambassador, Kellogg, attended, explaining that although he was not empowered to sign he wished to show the good-will of the United States. Five High Commissioners represented the British Dominions, and signed immediately after the representative of Great Britain. The Allies and Germany were represented by their Ambassadors or Ministers. The documents (the texts of which are printed at the conclusion of this article) when formally and finally approved were four in number.

The Dawes reparation plan, according to the agreements thus consummated, was to go into effect on Sept. 1, 1924, and the Reparation Commission, on the day of the signing, an-

A Month's World History

Events in the United States

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University, Chairman of the Board of Current History Associates.

AS is usual in a Presidential election year, the most absorbing topic of public interest in America is the political campaign. From State to State and from city to city pass the orators of the different parties, each seeking to win the suffrage of the voters. Under the widespread, although not universal, primary system preliminary elections take place from which it is possible to form some advance idea of the distribution of political strength. During these election periods the American voter learns most of what he acquires about popular government and representation and the nature of the American party and political system.

Whatever the appeals to personal interest or to party spirit, a Presidential election brings home more strongly than any other influence the right of the majority to choose its candidates to public office; and if there is no majority, then the right of the plurality. At the same time, the complications and possible unfairness of our method of choosing President and Vice President indirectly through State electoral colleges come sharply into view.

Just now the President of the United States occupies a difficult dual position. As President, he is endowed with enormous powers and duties, every day settling questions of vital significance. He is also the head and arbiter of a great national party which backs him for reelection. Some Presidents who were candidates for a second term have taken very little part in the canvass, as, for example, Grant and Cleveland; others, among them McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson, have made speeches and

sometimes extensive tours, to set forth their own principles and to ask the people directly for a return to office. And every such candidate must state his views and claims for support in a political and party speech, in reply to the official notification of his renomination.

President Coolidge's first important public utterance during the month under survey was his reply (Aug. 11) to a request to use his influence against the Republican nomination of a colored man in New York City for a seat in Congress. The President declared that he was "amazed to receive such a letter * * * a colored man is precisely as much entitled to submit his candidacy in a party primary as is any other citizen. The decision must be made by the constituents—and by nobody else."

The formal notification of his nomination was duly served upon President Coolidge by a committee representing the Cleveland convention; and he answered in a formal speech (Aug. 16). He declared himself an advocate of the party system, and claimed for his Administration success in reducing the debt and expenses of the Government, while at the same time caring for the veterans and reducing the taxes. He stood by his signature of the immigration bill, adding that "we must seek by some means beside immigration to demonstrate the friendship and respect which we feel for the Japanese nation." He praised the protective tariff and the Arms Conference called by President Harding; and added: "I favor the Permanent World Court and further limitation of armaments. I am opposed to aggressive war. I shall avoid involv-

ing ourselves in political controversies with Europe. * * * We propose to become a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice." He claimed a former farmer's interest in agriculture, and urged "more organization, co-operation and diversification" for the agriculturist.

He promised that the campaign receipts and expenses of his party should be stated from time to time to the Senate Committee. He supported the Supreme Court as the tribunal to adjust constitutional differences, and promised to enforce the prohibition law so far as in his power lay. He announced himself in favor of "national defense * * * not merely talking about it but doing something about it." And he concluded by declaring that for the American people the "greatest asset is common sense."

The President left Washington (Aug. 15) for a brief vacation at his former home and present home of his father in Plymouth, Vermont, where he took the oath of office a year ago. His pub-

lic statements thence were few; among them was the announcement of his satisfaction with the part of the United States in aiding to bring about the adoption by European Powers of the Dawes plan, which he considered perhaps "the most important result that has been accomplished since the armistice." He received as private visitors in Plymouth Thomas A. Edison, Henry Ford and Harvey S. Firestone. He sent a telegram of congratulations (Aug. 20) to General Dawes on the latter's speech of acceptance of the vice presidential nomination. Among executive pardons (Aug. 21) was that of Joseph Baltrusaitis, the last of the prisoners convicted of breach of the Espionage act passed during the war.

The President gave out (Aug. 21) a letter dated Aug. 14 to Dr. Moton, head of Tuskegee, in which he expressed his appreciation of "the accumulation of wealth, establishment of material independence and the assumption of a full and honorable part in the economic life of the nation" by the colored people.



Wide World

President Coolidge, Secretary of War Weeks, Secretary of State Hughes and C. Bascom Slemp (Secretary to the President) catching sight of the round-the-world airmen as they arrived at Bolling Field, near Washington, on Sept. 9

He approved (Aug. 20) a proposition to induce the clergymen of the country to join in urging all the voters to go to the polls in the approaching election. He made public his opinion that "the time would not be opportune to call a conference on armaments" or to bring up the question of the war debts due to the United States, but he favored joining the World Court. He was visited by General Dawes (Aug. 25); details not stated. He temporarily arrested (Aug. 27) the execution of the plan of the War Department to sell certain property of the Hoboken Shore Line Railroad. He returned to Washington (Aug. 29) without ceremonies.

In an address to the National Fraternal Congress (Aug. 29) he praised the "fraternal virtues" and the effect of the fraternities throughout the country to "express the spirit of common brotherhood." Under date of Aug. 30 he issued a proclamation rescinding a former proclamation against the export of arms or munitions of war to Cuba. He authorized the statement (Aug. 30) that he would not approve the elevation of the gun range of ships of the American Navy, as contrary to the principles of the Disarmament Conference. The Prince of Wales was received informally as a guest of the President at luncheon at the White House (Aug. 31). In an address to several hundred labor delegates (Sept. 1, Labor Day) the President emphasized the "American policies" of "healthful surroundings, education, reasonable conditions of employment, fair wages for fair work, stable business prosperity and the encouragement of religious worship." * * * "I am for a common-sense Government * * * I want all the people to continue to be partakers in self-government." In general he stood for the present economic system and the present relation between labor and capital, and restated a saying originally made by President Harrison to the effect that "cheap goods make cheap men."

The President expressed a hope that some improvement would be found in the settlement of disputes between em-

ployers and laborers, but he objected to compulsory arbitration. In a letter by his secretary, authorized by the President (Sept. 3), he expressed his approval of the attempt at "the rebuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national homestead." The President made a statement (Sept. 6) to the Jewish Telegraph Agency in which he praised the American Jews for their "splendid spirit of assimilation and genius." Constitution Day (Sept. 17) evoked a word of approval (Sept. 10), when the Executive wrote to the Sons of the American Revolution, lauding that organization for its "good and useful work."

President and Mrs. Coolidge personally welcomed home the around-the-world army fliers (Sept. 9), when the daring airmen arrived at Bolling Field, Washington. A distinguished assembly of Cabinet officers and statesmen greeted the fliers and subsequently President Coolidge issued a statement praising the aviators as having set "a new record of achievement."

Defense Day was observed throughout the country on Sept. 12; it was estimated that ceremonies were held in 6,535 different localities, and that 16,792,781 persons participated, this being exclusive of many millions who viewed parades and heard preparedness addresses by radio. Despite the objections of several Governors, Defense Day was very generally observed and proved a triumph for the exponents of military preparedness. Defense Day was a tribute to, and marked the close of the career of General Pershing, who, reaching his 64th birthday, was retired on Sept. 13 by President Coolidge.

FEDERAL SERVICE

A protest was made by the President of the National Federation of Federal Employees against the scale of wages to Federal employees in Washington and elsewhere. The prosecutions of former Federal officials and others in connection with the oil frauds proceeded slowly. Another suit was brought to cancel a lease granted to Doheny in the Elk Hills Reserve of California. Harry

F. Sinclair and the Dohenys sought by various technical means to prevent the prosecution from coming to trial in the courts of the District of Columbia, with the result that the final trial was delayed for several months. The contempt proceedings against ex-Attorney General Daugherty were supported by the present Department of Justice and were sent on their way to the Supreme Court.

STATE, LOCAL AND TERRITORIAL AFFAIRS.

State politics have been intimately bound up with the pending national election. There have been some curious developments in Southern politics. An effort was made to prevent "Ma" Ferguson, undisputed winner of the Democratic nomination (which insures election) for Governor of Texas, from being placed on the ballot, on the ground that the "common law adopted in Texas in 1836" does not recognize women as holders of public office. An attempt was made to impeach Mayor Brown of Seattle, Wash., on the ground that the city police do not interfere with vice resorts.

In the Philippine Islands there was a lull. The Insular Legislature continued at odds with Governor Wood over various questions. A court-martial found 204 Philippine scouts guilty of joining in a mutiny, and then proceeded to try seventeen ringleaders on the charge of leading the mutiny. The controversy over independence was temporarily dormant.

Plantation strike riots broke out on the Island of Kauai, Hawaiian Islands, on Sept. 9; nineteen were killed and many others were injured in the fighting. The disturbance grew out of the employment of strike-breakers in the places of native sugar workers who were on strike. Acting Adj. Gen. Bolton took command of the situation on Sept. 10.

THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN

With the wane of the Summer the Presidential campaign was fully under way. All parties made their platforms

and fortified them by the keynote speeches of their candidates. The Democrats were the first to complete the preliminaries; Mr. Davis selected as Democratic National Chairman Clem Shaver of West Virginia, a personal friend, and headquarters were opened in New York and Chicago. The usual Democratic campaign book specifically attacked General Dawes, Republican candidate for Vice President. Most of the Democratic campaign in August was carried on in the East and in the Middle West, Mr. Davis having spoken in Maine and then in Wyoming and Kansas. Mr. Davis has formed excellent personal ties with Governor Smith of New York and with Mayor Hylan of New York City. Governor Smith, however, has definitely refused to run for re-election, a decision which it was believed would adversely affect Mr. Davis's chances in the Empire State.

The Democratic national campaign organization includes, besides the Chairman and other officials of the National Committee, an organization bureau, a speakers' bureau, a publicity bureau and a committee on Senatorial and Congressional activities. A Board of Strategy has also been formed, including Thomas Taggart of Indiana, Norman E. Mack of New York, George White of Ohio, Homer S. Cummings of Connecticut, Cordell Hull of Tennessee—all former Chairmen of the Democratic National Committee. Governor Smith of New York and Mr. McAdoo both announced that they would campaign for Davis.

The keynote of the Democratic campaign was the formal notification of Davis at his home in Clarksburg, W. Va. (Aug. 11), which ceremony attracted a crowd estimated at 40,000. Senator Walsh, who made the notification speech, alluded apologetically to Davis's service as counsel for the Standard Oil Company and other large corporations. Mr. Davis's comment was that "the upright lawyer sells his services but never his soul"; when he was in public office he cut loose entirely from his law business and "had no

other client or employer than the Government and the people of the United States." He added: "I have no clients today but the Democratic Party, and, if they will it so, the people of the United States."

He strongly attacked the corruption found in the executive departments; protested against the Fordney-McCumber tariff; declared that the Democrats were the true progressives; defended "the right of labor to an adequate wage, earned under healthful conditions, the right to organize in order to obtain it and the right to bargain for it collectively through agents and representatives of its own choosing." He stated that he hoped, if elected, to relieve the farmer by reducing the tariff, by cooperative marketing and by reducing railroad rates. He promised further reduction of the taxes.

On the prohibition law his statement was, "to the enforcement of the law and all the law, we stand definitely pledged." He came out strongly for the entry of the United States into the League of Nations. Without mentioning the Ku Klux Klan, he took occasion to "denounce bigotry, intolerance and race prejudice as alien to the spirit of America." In his later speeches he followed up these leads. At Wheeling (Sept. 1) he declared himself in favor of the Child Labor amendment and urged its ratification, and he warned of the abuse of judicial injunction in labor disputes. In a speech at Seagirt, N. J. (Aug. 22), and in another speech in Maine he openly attacked the Ku Klux Klan by name for its attempt "to make racial origins or religious belief a test of fitness for public office."

A separate notification ceremony was held at Lincoln, Neb., for Governor Bryan as Democratic candidate for the Vice Presidency. Governor Bryan called for honesty in business and official life; favored the Child Labor amendment; denounced the Republicans for not raising the wages of the postal employes. He also protested against "war propaganda, such as mobilization demonstration of the civil and indus-

trial resources of the country"; he held the Republicans responsible for the bad condition of the farmer; announced himself in favor of the enforcement of laws; and eulogized the Administration of Woodrow Wilson. He later (Aug. 27) called for "Federal and State tribunals through which disputes between capital and labor could be investigated before the strike and lock-out stage is reached."

THE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN

The organization of the Republican campaign committee was described in preceding issues of CURRENT HISTORY. The large Advisory Committee is headed by John T. Adams, formerly Chairman of the National Republican Committee. This led to a controversy among the Iowa Republicans, who had replaced Adams with another man on the National Committee. Chairman Butler, the close friend of President Coolidge, with whom he is in frequent conference, included in this body several Republican Senators and several women taken from various parts of the country.

The formal notification of the candidate for President (Aug. 16) has already been related. The similar notification of General Dawes at his home in Evanston, Ill. (Aug. 18), brought together many thousands of spectators. He dwelt upon the tax reductions made by the Republican Administration and Congress; highly praised the President, and protested against the Socialist Party and leaders and their support of La Follette. With the boldness for which he is famed he said: "In Congress during the last few years the American citizen has heard more demagogic utterances than have ever before characterized it." Upon the League of Nations, he expressed his opinion that the Republican policy of remaining outside was just; and he strongly objected to the Democratic proposition to hold a nationwide referendum upon the subject. He expressed satisfaction with the reparations settlement, reached on the general basis of the Dawes report,

and the attitude of President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes in sustaining it. He held the Republican foreign policy to be one of the most important issues in the campaign.

THE PROGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN

The status of the Progressive Party was defined by Senator La Follette in a radio speech from Washington (Aug. 31). He declared that the stand of both the Republican and Democratic parties on foreign relations was dictated by J. P. Morgan & Co. To his mind the task of the Progressive Party was "to restore this Government to the service of the people; to secure to the laborer and producer in all lines a greater share of the produce of his toil, while protecting the consumer against the trust-fixed prices on all he buys, and to drive out of the Government at Washington the corrupting influences now so dominant." His argument on the farm situation may be summed up in one sentence: "When the farmer in this country receives an average of only 40 cents of the dollar paid by the city consumer for farm products, while the farmers of Denmark receive an average of 80 cents, it must be recognized that our present marketing system is indefensible."

Various public men came out of other parties to the support of La Follette, among them Malcolm R. McAdoo, brother of William G. McAdoo. The candidate also was supported by a manifesto of the Steuben Society of America (Aug. 31), an organization of German-Americans which assailed both leading parties for their repression of pro-German sentiment during the World War. The Steuben Society praised La Follette for "the self-sacrificing attitude assumed by him before the entire world, during the dark days of our emotional dementia, in defense of free speech and the liberty of the American citizen."

A much more significant backing for La Follette was that of the American Federation of Labor, which for the first time officially pledged itself to support a Presidential candidate. Samuel Gompers, its President, who for

years opposed the attempt to unify the votes of the organized laborers, accepted the situation; but some large and powerful labor unions (such as the Longshoremen's Union of New York, and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union) declined to be bound by this general vote.

The so-called American Labor Party in New York came out in support of La Follette and nominated LaGuardia, a former Republican, for Congress. Eugene V. Debs, the noted Socialist leader, expected that the result of the La Follette campaign would be a permanent National Labor Party, such as he had advocated for many years.

CAMPAIGN ISSUES

Out of this maze of speeches and declarations and party platforms, it was possible to select the principal issues upon which the voters are expected to make up their minds and cast their ballots.

1. Campaign Funds. All three party organizations agreed to lay before the special committee of the Senate appointed for that purpose, at intervals of about two weeks, a statement of party funds and the names of those who contributed; and also a statement of campaign expenses. This meant a great improvement in the existing laws, which were shown to be defective in the case of the election of Senator Newberry of Michigan. With respect to parties the La Follette men were trying the effect of a big subscription in small amounts, mostly \$1.

2. Oil Frauds and Judiciary Department Scandal. Both Democrats and Progressives made much of these difficulties, especially in the keynote speeches. Mr. Coolidge's direct reply was: "The laws of the land are being, and will continue to be, enforced. I propose to use every possible effort to resist corruption in office. The American Government must be clean." The effect of these arguments and counter-arguments on the minds of the voters was not yet indicated. Senator Wheeler, the mainspring in the Senate inves-

tigation, went over from the Democratic to the Progressive camp.

3. The Farmer and Farm Vote. All parties were bidding for the vote of the man with the hoe. The distress in the Middle and Northwestern grain States was somewhat relieved by a rise in price of crops; but the corn was still in doubt. The effect of a late or early Fall was expected to mean hundreds of thousands of votes cast one way or another. All parties agree that something new must be done for the farmer, in the way of facilities and of rates for transportation.

4. Special Votes. Unusual efforts were being made to line up one or another group of voters on other grounds than that of their business welfare. Efforts were made to turn the support of the ex-service men to the party which gave the most votes for the bonus, but that appeared hopeless, inasmuch as the soldiers came from every section and every party. Similar attempts were made to influence the very large negro vote in the Northern States, particularly New York, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Some negro leaders who were Republicans and had been appointed as Republicans to Federal office went over to the Democrats, who have created a "Negro Division" in their New York office.

A movement was on foot, under the direction of the so-called National Woman's Party, to consolidate the woman vote in favor of candidates for Congress from any party who would agree to support the "Equal Rights Amendment and a general feminist program." This would mean the forming of a "Woman's Bloc" in Congress. If it were to be carried out, it could not very much affect the vote for President. The Democrats made special efforts to elect Senators to replace outgoing Republicans.

It was estimated that about 7,000,000 young men and women would have reached the age of 21 since the last Presidential election, a number sufficient to turn the election either way if all voted together. However, the

experience of many years shows that most first voters follow the family political trend, whatever it may be. An interesting movement was that of the "National Get-Out-the-Vote Club," headed by both Republican and Democratic leaders, men and women. This body planned to send out about 15,000,000 circulars, of which the most important is a sticker reading: "Vote Nov. 4 —Vote as You Please, but—Vote!"

4. Labor Vote. In view of the attempt of the Progressives to corral the labor vote, so far as it can be controlled by the heads of the American Federation of Labor, the Republicans made a special drive for labor votes in the East and South. It seemed doubtful whether any large body of wage earners would desert the parties with which they have been associated for years in order to build up a new political party which would also attract the farmers. The great difference between the average earnings of factory, transportation, mine and commercial employes as against those of the workers on the land made it very difficult to bring those two elements into accord.

5. The K. K. K. A very disturbing element was the point of view and probable vote of the members of the Ku Klux Klan, who no longer are limited to Southern whites (most of whom were Democrats), but now include large numbers in the Northern and Eastern States, such as Indiana, New York and Maine, and have made great inroads among the Republicans.

INDICATIONS FROM STATE ELECTIONS

From the primary elections something may be learned as to the relative strength of parties, the effect of the campaign issues on the minds of the voters. In the South the primary contests in several States took the form of a trial of strength between the Ku Klux Klan and the rest of the voters of the same party. In Oklahoma former Governor Walton has headed the anti-Klan forces and been nominated for the Senate, his election to which is probable. Texas enjoyed an open fight, Klan

against anti-Klan. Robertson, Klan candidate for Governor, was decisively beaten by Mrs. Miriam Ferguson, wife of an impeached Governor, who, it was reported, would be "Private Secretary" to the titular Governor. In those two States the Klan wave appeared to be subsiding.

The only important early elections which threw any light on the prospects of the Presidential candidates were in Maine and Massachusetts. In Maine the regular State election (Sept. 8) showed that the Klan and anti-Klan elements in the Republican Party were amicably united, for they carried the State—Governorship, Senatorship and all the members of Congress—by the largest vote ever cast and by a considerable majority. The farmers in the State held to their traditional Republicanism.

In Massachusetts (Sept. 9), by a phenomenal primary vote, the Republicans nominated Speaker Gillett over two other strong candidates. On the previous day Gillett received the endorsement of Chairman Butler, which was undoubtedly shared by President Coolidge. There was no evidence of dissatisfaction anywhere in the Massachusetts Republican Party toward the Massachusetts candidate for the Presidency.

FINANCE AND BUSINESS

Except for serious dullness in the textile industries of New England, business appeared prosperous throughout the country. The Treasury was trying to float some of the thirty million of silver dollars that were idle in the vaults. Some bank failures occurred in South Dakota and Minnesota, though in general the banks in the agricultural States were sound. Discussion arose again on the question of the foreign loans of the United States, which problem bore so definitely upon the possible effects of the Dawes plan for reparations in Europe. Income taxes for the current fiscal year seemed likely to net \$150,000,000 more than last year, notwithstanding the 25 per cent. deduc-

tion. The new Board of Tax Appeals began its work and has issued rulings.

A few large business failures occurred, notably the Middle States Oil Corporation, of which Joseph P. Tumulty, former private secretary of President Wilson, was made receiver. The great packing house firm of Wilson & Co., with assets of \$120,000,000, also went into the hands of a receiver. Foreign exports of electrical machinery and automobiles increased slightly.

The Canadian wheat crop was declared to be about one-half of the crop of a year ago. On the other hand, in many parts of the West the farmer will get about twice as much for his crop as in previous years. The Department of Agriculture reported, however, that, allowing the owners of farms the rate of wages usually earned by farm laborers, the average return of the farms of the country was a little over 3 per cent. To reach this result the total value of the farm properties is computed at about sixty billions, as against a little over eighty billions four years ago. Such figures made it clear that, whatever party controls the next Presidency and Congress, attention must be given to the relief of those who are carrying on farms.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Among recent appointments to foreign posts was that of Edgar Addison Bancroft of Chicago as Ambassador to Japan. Jacob Gould Schurman, Minister to China, was suggested by the State Department, but proved not to be acceptable to Japan. James Rockwell Sheffield of New York was made Ambassador to Mexico.

Secretary Hughes returned from abroad (Aug. 15) and expressed his satisfaction at the success of the London conference in putting the Dawes plan into effect. Treaties on the basis of the British Twelve-Mile Off-Shore Treaty were signed with Sweden (Aug. 18) and with Holland (Aug. 22). The first meeting of the Mexican Claims Commission was held in Washington (Aug. 30) under the chairmanship of Profes-

sor Van Vollenhoven of the Netherlands. In the Williams College Institute, Major Gen. Allen, former commander-in-chief of the American army of occupation in Germany, declared that the Washington conference of 1921 once hovered on the brink of converting itself into a conference on a world association of nations, as proposed by President Harding. At another session of the Institute (Aug. 7), Dr. Tyler Dennett of Washington declared that President Roosevelt in 1904, committed himself to the support of Japan against Russia.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Little success was attained by the authorities of the law in their efforts to end the fierce and violent crimes which have raged throughout the country. The Federal authorities in Chicago arrested William A. Fahy, an official of the Post Office service, who was supposed to have engineered the recent murderous \$2,000,000 robbery on a train at Rondout, Ill. The Jefferson State Bank, a short distance from the State capital of Illinois, was robbed by bandits (Sept. 8), and there were three other bank robberies the same day. In a recent case a woman carrying a baby in her arms held up a bank in Illinois. The Post Office Department started building bandit-proof mail trucks. An important development in the most frightful crime reported for many years was the sentencing (Sept. 10) by Judge Caverly in Chicago of Nathan F. Leopold Jr. and Richard A. Loeb to life imprisonment, for the murder of young Robert Franks; the slayers also were sentenced to ninety-nine years' imprisonment each for kidnapping Franks.

Bootlegging and the pursuit of bootleggers continued much as usual. A recent symposium in *The Independent* showed that numerous gentlemen of wealth and station were openly pat-

ronizing bootleggers, and had no scruples at breaking the law. Attorney General Stone sought to strengthen methods of prosecution. In several instances judges and others engaged in trying to break up the liquor trade have had their homes or offices blown up.

Marcus Garvey continued his attempts to persuade the negroes of this country to emigrate to Africa; the Liberian Government, however, has refused his followers; despite this setback, Garvey announced his purchase of a steamer to carry a party over to Liberia. A ceremony was held at the headquarters of Garvey's association in New York (Aug. 31) to "canonize" a black Christ and a black Virgin Mary.

The most interesting recent case in the field of emigration was the effort to expel Luis Angel Firpo, an Argentine prizefighter who came into port accompanied by a young woman. The latter was not allowed to land and went to Cuba. Canon Chase of New York took up the matter on the ground that the same reason that justified the exclusion of the woman should have brought about the exclusion of the man. Commissioner of Immigration Curran asked a warrant for the arrest of the fighter; Firpo then was apprehended and released on bail (Sept. 6). Strenuous efforts by reformers failed to prevent his bout (Sept. 11) with Harry Wills, in which the latter was victorious.

When the planet Mars came within about 34,000,000 miles of the United States, the shortest distance for many years (Aug. 22), great efforts were made to ascertain whether Mars has a snowfall and whether there are canals on the planet connecting the snowfields with the equatorial region. The snow seemed to be demonstrated; on the canals the evidence was awaiting review. People who were listening for radio signals from Mars were disappointed.

President Roosevelt's Secret Pact With Japan

By TYLER DENNETT

ON July 29, 1905, Count Katsura, Prime Minister of Japan and temporarily in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the place of Baron Komura, who was on his way to the Portsmouth Peace Conference, effected an exchange of opinion with a personal representative of President Roosevelt relative to the cooperation of the United States with Great Britain and Japan in the Far East. At the request of Katsura the nature of the agreement was regarded as so secret that it was not disclosed even to Lloyd C. Griscom, the American Minister in Tokio. An "agreed memorandum" of the understanding was drawn up and submitted to President Roosevelt, who on July 31 replied: "Your conversation with Count Katsura absolutely correct in every respect. Wish you would state to Katsura that I confirm every word you said." We have therefore in this memorandum the text of perhaps the most remarkable "executive agreement" in the history of the foreign relations of the United States.

The following is the text, after certain necessary deletions had been made, of the document reproduced on pages 16 and 17 of this magazine:

July 29, 1905.

From Tokio,
To *****

Washington.

The following is agreed memorandum of conversation between Prime Minister of Japan and myself:

"Count Katsura and * * * had a long and confidential conversation on the morning of July 27. Among other topics of conversation the following views were exchanged regarding the question of the Philippine Islands, of Korea and of the maintenance of general peace in the Far East.

"First, in speaking of some pro-Russians in America who would have the public believe that the victory of Japan would be a certain prelude to her aggression in the direction of the Philippine Islands, * * * observed that Japan's only interest in the Philippines would be, in his opinion, to have these islands governed by a strong and friendly nation like the United States, and not have them placed either under the misrule of the natives, yet unfit for self-government, or in the hands of some unfriendly European power. Count Katsura confirmed in the strongest terms the correctness of his views on the point and positively stated that Japan does not harbor any aggressive designs whatever on the Philippines; adding that all the insinuations of the yellow peril type are nothing more or less than malicious and clumsy slanders calculated to do mischief to Japan.

"Second, Count Katsura observed that the maintenance of general peace in the extreme East forms the fundamental principle of Japan's international policy. Such being the case, he was very anxious to exchange views with * * * as to the most effective means for insuring this principle. In his own opinion, the best, and in fact the only, means for accomplishing the above object would be to form good understanding between the three Governments of Japan, the United States and Great Britain, which have common interest in upholding the principle of eminence. The Count well understands the traditional policy of the United States in this respect and perceives fully the impossibilities of their entering into a formal alliance of such nature

Mr. Dennett, who is a lecturer on history at Johns Hopkins University, has for the last eight years devoted himself almost exclusively to the study of the affairs of the Far East, traveling through that part of the world twice. He was in Europe twice during the war and was at the peace conference. As a specialist in diplomatic history he prepared a monograph for the use of the American Commissioners at the Washington Disarmament Conference. Last year he published "Americans in Eastern China," a critical and historical study, and is now engaged in preparing other works on American diplomatic history, one of which, "Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War," will be published early in 1925.

July 29, 1905.

From Tokyo.

To [redacted]

Received [redacted]

Is a record of conversation between

[redacted] and [redacted]

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Photostat of the first page of the document containing the "agreed memorandum" in which was embodied the understanding arrived at in 1905 between the Japanese Premier and a representative of President Roosevelt. So as not to embarrass the latter, his name has been excised by Mr. Dennett

Third. In regard to the Korean question, Count Katsura observed that Korea being the direct cause of our war with Russia it is a matter of absolute importance to Japan that a complete solution of the peninsula question should be made as the logical consequence of the war. If left to herself after the war Korea will certainly draw back to her habit of imprudently entering into any agreements or treaties with other powers, thus resuscitating the same international complications as existed before the war. In view of the foregoing circumstances Japan feels absolutely constrained to take some definite steps with a view to precluding the possibility of Korea falling back into her former condition and of placing us again under the necessity of entering upon another foreign war. [redacted] fully admitted the justness of the Count's observations and remarked to the effect that, in his personal opinion, the establishment by Japanese troops of a suzerainty over Korea to the extent of requiring that Korea enter into no foreign treaties without the consent of Japan was the logical result of the present war and would directly contribute to permanent peace in the East. His judgment was that President Roosevelt would concur in his views in this regard. [redacted] said he had no authority to give assurance of this. Indeed, [redacted] added, that he felt much delicacy in advancing the views he did for he had no mandate for the purpose from the President. [redacted]

[redacted] He could not, however, in view of Count Katsura's courteous desire to discuss the questions, decline to express his opinions [redacted]

[redacted] and he would forward to Mr. Root and the President a memorandum of the conversation. Count Katsura said that he would transmit the same, confidentially, to Baron Goro.

After this rather quite lengthy interview, if I have spoken too freely or inaccurately or omittingly, I know you can and will correct it. Do not want to "burden" but under the circumstances, difficult to avoid statement and so told truth as I believe it. Count Katsura especially requested that our conversation be confined to you and the President, so have not advised Grieson. Is there any objection? If necessary, under your direction, Foreign Office can give him a copy. [redacted]

with any foreign nation, but in view of our common interests he couldn't see why some good understanding or an alliance in practice, if not in name, should not be made between those three nations in so far as respects the affairs in the Far East. With such understanding firmly formed, general peace in these regions would be easily maintained, to the great benefit of all powers concerned. * * * said that it was difficult, indeed impossible, for the President of the United States of America to enter even to any understanding amounting in effect to a confidential informal agreement, without the consent of the Senate, but that he felt sure that without any agreement at all the people of the United States were so fully in accord with the policy of Japan and Great Britain in the maintenance of peace in the Far East that, whatever occasion arose, appropriate action of the Government of the United States, in conjunction with Japan and Great Britain, for such a purpose could be counted on by them quite as confidently as if the United States were under treaty obligations to take.

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press his opinions * * *, and he would forward to Mr. Root and the President a memorandum of the conversation. Count Katsura said that he would transmit the same, confidentially, to Baron Komura."

Prime Minister quite anxious for interview. If I have spoken too freely or inaccurately or unwittingly, I know you can and will correct it. Do not want to "butt in," but, under the circumstances, difficult to avoid statement, and so told truth as I believe it. Count Katsura especially requested that our conversation be confined to you and the President, so have not advised Griscom. Is there any objection? If necessary, under your direction, Foreign Office can give him a copy.

* * *

Since the announcement by the writer of the terms of this understanding at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown in August it has been argued that this document did not constitute a "secret agreement." That it was secret is evident from the fact that it was concealed even from Griscom at the time and that its existence was unknown not only in the officially published records of the Department of State, but also unknown to more than half a dozen people in the United States until the recent disclosure. That it was an agreement is clear from the text itself. This text, a photostat of which is given herewith, was found in the Roosevelt private papers which are deposited for safekeeping, subject to the control of the Roosevelt family, in the Library of Congress. The writer knows of at least two other copies of the memorandum. There can be no possible question as to its authenticity. The text reproduced with this article appears to have been a copy of the first translation from the cipher dispatch, and it is possible that two or three words were mangled in either transmission or in decoding. It would appear, however, that certain awkward or unidiomatic expressions in the text were due to the fact that the memorandum was probably drawn up by a Japanese.

The document contains three important paragraphs to which are added some sentences of explanation indicating not only that Katsura wished the agreement to be kept very secret, but also

that he took the initiative in effecting the conversation. So insistent, in fact, was the Japanese Prime Minister that, though President Roosevelt's agent was reluctant to enter the conversation, it seemed less awkward to do so than not to do so.

In the first paragraph Count Katsura is made to state: "Japan does not harbor any aggressive designs whatever on the Philippines." This assurance was of importance to the United States Government at that time. The Roosevelt papers clearly reveal that Japanese intentions with respect to the Philippines had given the President no little concern in the course of the preceding six months. This alarm had also extended to Hawaii, since a few months before the President had even gone so far as to suggest to the War Department that additional troops ought to be sent to Honolulu. Roosevelt, while consistently preferring a Japanese to a Russian victory in the existing war, repeatedly expressed the fear that the astonishing triumphs of Japanese arms might turn the heads of the Japanese Government and lead to subsequent alarming aggressions. He felt, on the other hand, that a Russian victory would be the certain prelude to the dismemberment of China and, after weighing the probabilities, concluded that Japan was both more reliable and less to be feared than the discredited Czarist Government. Count Katsura's statement therefore tended to confirm Roosevelt's previous conclusions and to justify his support of Japan. This self-denying declaration by Katsura also doubtless had an important influence upon Roosevelt's action three weeks later at Portsmouth. It will be recalled that when the Portsmouth Conference reached a deadlock the President stepped in and became the mediator of the settlement. Without the assurances which Katsura had so formally given, the President's action at Portsmouth might have been different.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

The terms of the second Anglo-Japanese Alliance were announced about

two weeks after the date of this conversation. Probably the terms of the alliance were in process of negotiation in London at the same time. This fact is important, because in the second paragraph of the memorandum Katsura specifically asks for "a good understanding or an alliance in practice if not in name" of the United States, Great Britain and Japan. In other words, the United States Government was invited to become a secret member of the second Anglo-Japanese alliance. To this invitation the American replied, and the reply was fully endorsed by Roosevelt, that

he felt sure that without any agreement at all the people of the United States were so fully in accord with the policy of Japan and Great Britain in the maintenance of peace in the Far East that whenever the occasion arose appropriate action of the Government of the United States, in conjunction with Japan and Great Britain, for such a purpose could be counted on by them quite as confidently as if the United States were under treaty obligation to take [it].

The preamble of the second Anglo-Japanese alliance declared that the compact was designed for the maintenance of the peace of the Far East. The inference is fairly conclusive that President Roosevelt was prepared to give and did give his personal pledge that the United States Government during his administration would act, so far as he could lead, as an unsigned member of this alliance. At least we may say that, if a treaty to that effect, to expire on March 4, 1909, had been formally negotiated and ratified by the Senate, the result would have been no different.

There is ample evidence that President Roosevelt did not share the traditional fear of entangling alliances. Indeed there is documentary evidence that Roosevelt was in favor of a triple alliance of Great Britain, Japan and the United States. Throughout the Russo-Japanese War he had acted in close cooperation with Great Britain and Japan, though independently, and there is reason to believe that he had assumed, so far as he was able, the same obligations

to aid Japan that Great Britain had assumed in the first Anglo-Japanese alliance. The evidence for this assertion is in the process of preparation and will be published within a few months.

During the Russo-Japanese War the late George Kennan was in Japan as a correspondent. He was on particularly intimate and confidential terms with the highest Japanese officials. Early in 1905 he wrote to Roosevelt, with whom he was accustomed to correspond, and proposed that the United States ought to enter an alliance with Great Britain and Japan. Kennan was merely voicing an opinion which had been current in London and Tokio for at least six years. I do not find it difficult to suppose that his letter to Roosevelt was written with the knowledge of Count Katsura. Under date of May 6, 1905, Roosevelt replied:

As to what you say about the alliance, the trouble is, my dear Mr. Kennan, that you are talking academically. Have you followed some of my experiences in endeavoring to get treaties through the Senate? I might just as well strive for the moon as for such a policy as you indicate. Mind you, I personally entirely agree with you. But if you have followed the difficulty I have had even in getting such obvious things done as those connected with Panama and Santo Domingo, you would get some faint idea of the absolute impossibility of carrying out any such policy as you indicate in your letter.

Again I have no difficulty in supposing that the contents of the above paragraph was known to Katsura, so that, when he asked for the conversation at the end of July, he was fairly sure of his ground.

THE KOREAN QUESTION

The third paragraph of the memorandum related to Korea. When invited by Katsura to express an opinion as to what policy Japan ought to pursue in the peninsula, the American is made to state that "in his personal opinion, the establishment by Japanese troops of a suzerainty over Korea to the extent of requiring that Korea enter into no foreign treaties without the consent of Japan was the logical result of the

present war and would directly contribute to permanent peace in the East." This opinion was also endorsed by the President.

This statement had been prefaced by one in which the American was led to assent to the Japanese claims that "Korea was the direct cause of the war." This is a very broad claim which has usually been accepted, but which does not appear to have been supported by the facts. We should prefer to say that the direct cause of the war was the control of Manchuria and that the indirect cause was the control of China. This very generous and uncritical assent to the Japanese claim would appear to have been phrased by Katsura, and the phrasing is one of the reasons for inferring that the document itself is the product of Japanese diplomatic craftsmanship.

The discussion of the paragraph about Korea might easily lead into a detailed investigation of the Korean question. Indeed, unless we are familiar with these details we are almost sure to reach an unsound conclusion about the rightness or wisdom of this official acquiescence of Roosevelt in the Japanese policy in Korea. The writer of the memorandum again reveals himself as a rather clever diplomat. He separated in the text the two paragraphs which are related in thought. Perhaps it was felt that the document would read better if the exchange of opinion in regard to Korea was not made to follow immediately after the conversation about the Philippines. That there was in the mind of the Japanese statesman a *quid pro quo* is fairly evident. Indeed the assertion was made in the Japanese newspaper *Kokumin* on Oct. 4, 1905, that there was such an exchange and that in return for the Japanese declaration in regard to the Philippines, the United States Government had agreed to allow Japan a free hand in Korea. Speaking of the agreement as a whole the *Kokumin*, which was regarded as the mouth-piece of the Japanese Government, continued:

In fact, it is a Japanese-Anglo-American alliance. We may be sure that when once England became our ally America also became a party to the agreement. Owing to the peculiar national conditions, America cannot make any open alliance, but we should bear in mind that America is our ally, though bound by no formal treaty; we firmly believe that America, under the leadership of the world statesman, President Roosevelt, will deal with her Oriental problems in cooperation with Japan and Great Britain.

This editorial, in the light of the facts now known, has rather an unpleasant sound and suggests that Japan felt that she had in fact outstepped the American diplomats. It may be said in explanation of the American position that there is no evidence whatever that President Roosevelt supposed that as the agent of the United States he was trading Korea for the Philippines. About six months before he had reached his conclusion about Korea. In a note to Secretary Hay at the end of January we find a postscript in the President's own handwriting in which he remarked: "We cannot possibly interfere for the Koreans against Japan. They could not strike one blow in their own defense." This characteristic conclusion about Korea was fully in accord with American policy for twenty-five years. If there was a quid pro quo in the agreement of July 29, it was merely that in return for a statement of a conclusion which had been reached six months earlier and purely on the merits of the case the Japanese Government had been led to make the most formal declaration that it would not interfere in the Philippines.

THE RUSSIAN DANGER

On the other hand, we may say this: President Roosevelt felt that a quick reconciliation between Japan and Russia was possible. Indeed, he foresaw the possibility of an alliance. A Russo-Japanese alliance appeared to him something to be dreaded. It was therefore a cardinal point in his policy to treat Japan so well that she would find it preferable to associate herself with Great Britain and the United States

rather than with Russia. The wisdom of this policy, from an American point of view, can hardly be challenged. It is a significant fact that within a few months after the agreement of Aug. 29, 1905, was clumsily repudiated or abrogated by Secretary Knox in 1910, when he put forward the proposal for the neutralization of the Manchurian railways, Japan actually entered into a secret treaty with Russia which appears to have been directed against the United States. Such a treaty between Japan and Russia would have been extremely unlikely if the Roosevelt policy had been continued.

Unquestionably the Roosevelt agreement is exposed to serious criticism. Yet, if it overlooks the attendant circumstances and fails to consider what would have been their alternative choices, such criticism goes wide of the mark. President Roosevelt believed that when Russia was defeated in the Far East Japan conferred a benefit upon American interests. The distinctive feature of Roosevelt's Far Eastern policy was that he did not ignore the implied obligation. He was prepared, in return, to help Japan—he was prepared to have the United States make some payment for the advantages which Americans enjoyed in Eastern Asia. It has been rare to find American statesmen who would follow President Roosevelt in this very honorable principle. Perhaps the most conspicuous characteristic of American policy in the Far East, viewed in the large, has been the desire to get something for nothing. Possibly in assenting to the agreed memorandum he displayed a willingness to pay too much. He really assented to something like a blank check, for he did not have the foresight to require a bill of particulars as to the measures which would be taken under the second Anglo-Japanese Alliance to maintain the peace of the Far East—measures which turned out to be inimical to American interests. However, the fact that the diplomacy was bungled does not affect the fact that the principle of statesmanship was sound.

The Threat to British Rule in India

By LORD SYDENHAM OF COMBE

THE grave situation which has arisen in India may primarily concern the British Empire; but it suggests possibilities which would directly and indirectly affect the civilized world. Since the assumption of authority by the Crown in 1858 following the great mutiny, the advance of India has been extraordinary. That an eastern sub-continent, with a population exceeding 300,000,000, should, until recent years, have been orderly and progressive was an international factor of extreme importance, and if it were now to disappear, there would be repercussions certain to be felt far and wide.

To Americans, faced by Pacific problems of which no one can foresee the issue, the stabilizing influence which India under British rule has hitherto exercised, has been an advantage perhaps insufficiently recognized. While the British people were engaged in the tremendous task of rescuing India from the blood-stained anarchy which followed the fall of the Mogul Empire, in arresting the devastating activities of Marathas, Rohillas and Pindavris, in abolishing the enormities of Suttee and Thagi, and in gradually building up a pure administration capable of giving peace and equal justice to the millions of India, Americans were too much pre-occupied to realize the vast magnitude of an undertaking unparalleled in history. If the great structure which we have created at a sacrifice of innumerable British lives and with infinite effort were now to collapse, there would be a reversion to the anarchy of eighteenth century India, which could not be confined to her borders, and would react upon the Western nations.

Since President Roosevelt paid his notable and generous tribute to the

most wonderful civilizing work ever accomplished, there have been persistent and organized efforts in the United States to vilify British rule in India. The wildest falsehoods have obtained circulation, so that it is difficult for Americans to ascertain the truth. American missionaries, whose excellent work I had opportunities of judging, are best able to appreciate the benefits of the mildest Government that Eastern peoples ever possessed, and it is significant that, during the dangerous rebellion of 1919 in Northern India, the staff and pupils of the Forman College at Lahore ranged themselves on the side of that Government and were helpful to the authorities at a time of terrible strain.

India comprises an area of 1,800,000 square miles, of which a little less than two-fifths, with one-quarter of a total population of 320,000,000, consists of 700 self-governing native States. In extent, therefore, India equals all Europe with the exception of Russia. The climate shows immense differences, and the rainfall varies from three to 400 inches. There are 130 dialects, deriving from six different root languages, and nine religions, of which two, Hinduism

Lord Sydenham of Combe (known as Sir George Sydenham Clarke before his elevation to the peerage) has long been recognized as one of the leading governmental authorities on matters affecting the defense and security of the British Empire. Born in 1848, he began his career as an officer in the Royal Engineers. After serving with the British forces in the Sudan, he was employed at the War Office in London from 1885 to 1892 as Secretary to the Colonial Defense Committee, and from 1892 to 1901 in various tasks connected with army administration and reorganization, being also sent on special duty to many parts of Europe and America. He was Governor of Victoria (one of the Australian States) from 1901 to 1904, when he became Secretary to the important Committee of Imperial Defense. From 1907 to 1913 he was Governor of Bombay, and since then has presided over many royal commissions and other important bodies. Besides writing technical works on mathematics, engineering and military science, he is the author of various books on questions of British imperialism and world politics.

and Islam, are dominant and perennially in conflict for reasons ineffaceably traced in the pages of history. The former embraces more than 1,800 castes and sub-castes, carving deep lines of cleavage throughout the whole community, while the latter is divided into several sections, mutually hostile upon occasion. The "untouchables" number nearly 50,000,000, and in Southern India are regarded as capable of polluting a high-caste man at a range of sixty-four feet. Seven millions still live in tribal conditions. Some tribes who are professional criminals by caste, the Government, with the valued assistance of the Salvation Army, is seeking gradually to redeem.

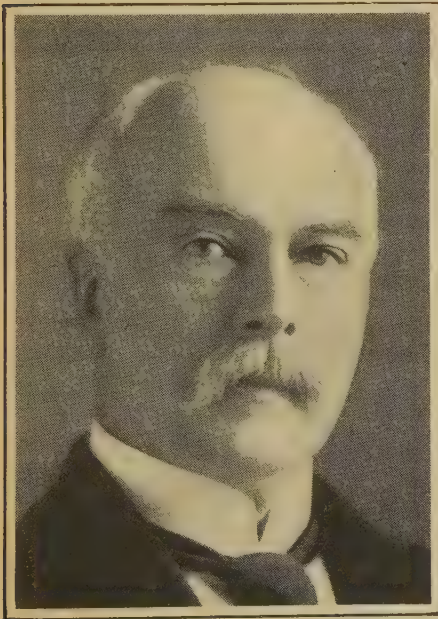
AN AGRICULTURAL PEOPLE

The census classes 90 per cent. of the Indian peoples as rural (which compares with 20 per cent. in England and Wales), while at least 72 per cent. are dependent entirely on agriculture. The taxation after the war was about 4s. 9½d. (about \$1.16) per head, includ-

ing land revenue. The spinning, weaving and other industries were introduced by British pioneers, but are now almost wholly in Indian hands, except in the case of the jute industry of Bengal. Capitalists in India are thus mainly Indians who have risen to wealth owing to the security afforded by British rule. The stories of heartless exploitation which have been circulated in America are deliberate falsehoods. India is only at the beginning of industrialization, and for many reasons it is desirable that the pace should not be quickened. The British Government in India not only carries on all the work which Western Governments perform but, in the words of Lord Ronaldshay, a former Governor of Bengal, in his book, "India: A Bird's Eye View":

It constructs and runs railways; it undertakes huge irrigation works; it organizes famine relief; it fights pestilence and plague; it doctors and it sanitates; it undertakes the exploitation and scientific treatment of the immense forests scattered over the land; it monopolizes the manufacture of salt; it runs schools and colleges; it makes its influence felt, in other words, in every department of the people's life.

The inspiration and the driving power which initiated and have carried on all this work and more are supplied by only 5,000 British officials, while the major administration rests upon the Indian Civil Service of a little over 900, of whom, owing to climate and strain, not more than 800 are normally at their posts. As pointed out by Lord Ronaldshay, it has happened to a single Englishman to be responsible for order and good government over an area larger than that of New Zealand and a population of 47,000,000. Tourists traveling by well-managed railways and visiting the great towns of India can form no idea of the real conditions of a mainly rural population, or of the work carried on in remote districts by little groups of British officials in smoothing down internecine feuds and in administering impartial justice to all castes and creeds. All such work depends entirely on character and upon the confidence which it



Keystone

LORD SYDENHAM OF COMBE



Ewing Galloway

The monument at Delhi erected in memory of the Indian mutiny, the great revolt of the Bengal native army in 1857, which led to the transference of Indian Government from the East India Company to the British Crown in 1858

rule backed by military force relatively insignificant. Prestige, the most potent factor in the East, sufficed for many years to enable force to be dispensed with except on rare occasions. The visible signs of progress must strike every visitor to India, but may naturally induce oblivion of the explosive forces apparently dormant, but ready to assert themselves directly the controlling authority shows symptoms of weakening. The Moguls at the zenith of their power never created machinery of government comparable to that which, in Lord Ronaldshay's words, "makes its influence felt in every department of the people's life," but anarchy followed their decline and fall. Deeper and darker would be the calamity which would afflict the millions of India if British authority were to lapse and could not be replaced by

has won in the past. Left to themselves, Indians will invariably seek the adjudication of a Briton, just as they will travel long distances to obtain the aid of a British doctor. I earnestly beg Americans to consider the few facts I have mentioned and to remember that more than 93 per cent. of Indians are wholly illiterate and that perhaps 1,000,000 have command of English, which is the language of the political organizations now laboring to destroy our rule. If further they will reflect that the masses of India are credulous to the last degree, while many elements are intensely fanatical, they will understand the difficulties of the task we have undertaken and the dangers of the present situation.

The huge population of India has been held together and has made amazing progress only by reason of British

another power able to carry on our task with the acquiescence and the trust of the complex medley of jarring races, creeds, languages and castes which constitutes the population of India. There is not and there cannot be for many years anything resembling an Indian nation. What is called for political purposes "Indian opinion" represents the views of an infinitesimal minority in temporary agreement only with the object of destroying British rule, but sharply divided as to methods and policy.

TOWARD SELF-GOVERNMENT

For some years at least it has been the British aim to lead India gradually toward self-government. In my five and a half years of office in Bombay, this aim was never absent from my mind. Indians are eligible for and may occupy every post in India except that of Vice-

roy and Provincial Governor. The experiment of appointing a very able Bengali lawyer Governor of Bihar and Orissa was lately tried and failed, leading to his resignation after a few months. Indians dominate the whole subordinate judiciary, supervised by the high courts, in which British influence is now declining. They have provided valuable officials in all capacities after being trained in Western methods of administration. To a great extent they control education in all its branches. All local government is in their hands, with results that, in some cases, have been disastrous. (For example, I was forced to suspend two municipalities for shocking proceedings, and no resentment was forthcoming. The Bombay Municipality, now converted into a political body, has boycotted all British goods.) In the legislative sphere, the reforms of Lord Morley and Lord Minto in 1909 conferred large powers, making it possible for Indian views to have the fullest expression. So far as Bombay

is concerned, I can testify that no legislation was passed without the concurrence of a council in which Indians held a large majority. The liberality of these reforms was regarded at the time with astonishment by Indian politicians. They worked well in spite of certain defects which could easily have been remedied, and they provided a basis for further progress in the direction of self-government. They were swept away before the opportunities they afforded were understood or realized, and in 1919 India was suddenly presented with a crazy Constitution which is already proving harmful to the vital interests of the Indian peoples.

Americans should know some of the facts of how the political movement was engineered during the great war, in which Indian troops served gallantly in every theatre of operations while the Indian Princes and Chiefs were lavish in contributions of men and treasure to the cause of the Empire. The war threw a heavy strain on the whole Indian admin-



British military camp at Ali Masjid, in the Khyber Pass, the most important of the passes that lead from Afghanistan into India

istration, which the "political minded" group turned to full account. It obstructed the Government so far as it was able and sought to bargain for its support. It strengthened and spread its organization and established close connections with the politicians in England who were known to favor Home Rule. It stimulated the secret societies in Bengal and the Punjab, some of which had ramifications in America, where, as in England and other countries, an active propaganda was developed. When the war ended the talking men demanded power for themselves because the fighting men, who held them in contempt, had contributed to victory!

The chessboard was already partly set when Mr. E. S. Montagu was appointed Secretary of State for India and took upon himself the task of setting up Western democracy in India, which he himself acknowledged to be a "very dangerous experiment." He proceeded to India, visited a few great cities, was deeply impressed and perhaps alarmed by the representations of the little group of English-speaking intelligentsia, omitted to consult the classes on which the life of India depends and produced a report in which he stated his intention of "deliberately disturbing the placid, pathetic contentment" of the people. This report is an interesting study in contradictions. Parts of it, evidently written by an experienced official, accurately describe conditions and violently conflict with the political proposals supplied by theorists and doctrinaires. The report was embodied in a bill which went further in weakening the authority of the Government, more pressure having been brought to bear on Mr. Montagu. A joint committee of both houses of Parliament was set up to take evidence from the numerous political organizations whose delegates had hastened to London, and the Secretary and the Under Secretary of State appointed themselves judges of their own case. No non-English speaking Indians out of more than 318,000,000, nor any representative of the martial classes was

heard, and the bill emerged with more concessions (especially in the direction of weakening the Central Government) to the delegations engaged in working up support in England. (This aspect of the proceedings is admirably presented in "The Lost Dominion".)

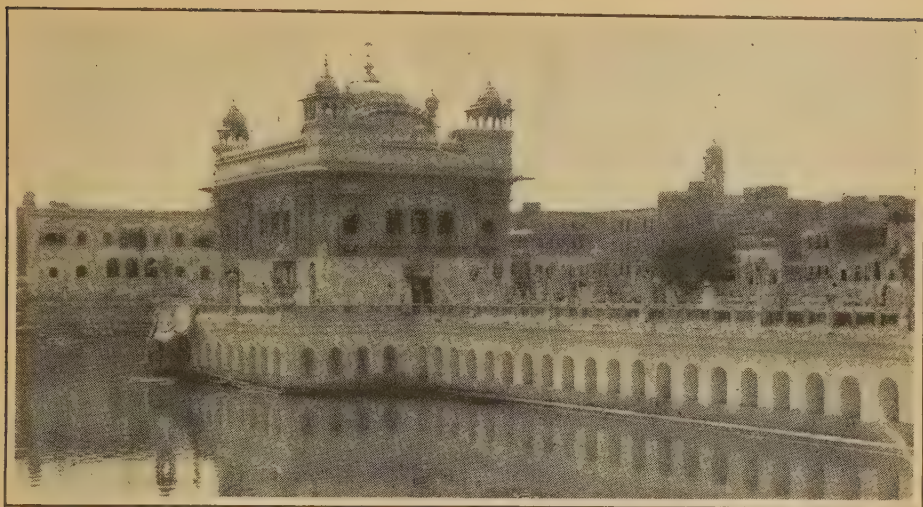
THE ACT OF 1919

The bill was then rushed through Parliament with the aid of the "kangaroo closure," and as the Coalition Government was in power, there was no opposition except from the small number of members of both houses who knew and loved India. In normal times there would have been strong opposition, and adequate discussion would at least have been insisted upon. Public opinion, confused and distracted by the war and its aftermath, was not in a position to form calm judgments, and we were assured that the passing of the bill would bring peace to India where



BRIG. GEN. R. E. H. DYER

The British commander who ordered riflemen to fire upon a large meeting of natives in the Jallianwalla Bagh at Amritsar in April, 1919



The Golden Temple at Amritsar

the astute politicians were already organizing to create trouble. In such conditions one of the most momentous measures that ever issued from Westminster was launched on its dangerous career. The broad provisions of the act of 1919 were as follows:

(1) Eight single-chamber triennial Parliaments, mainly Indian, were set up with a double-chamber Parliament above them in certain respects. This is what Lord Morley, stoutest of democrats, declared that he would never accept. (One of these single-chamber Parliaments was for Burma, which came in later. The Burmese differ more from Indians than Italians from Finns, and, except that both countries are tropical, their conditions have little in common.)

(2) The electorates were so restricted that the agricultural population—the mainstay of India—received nothing that could be called representation. Separate electorates had to be created for Moslems, Sikhs, and some other communities. The general political effect of all this was to give preponderating power to the urban population in a country where 90 per cent. of the people are classed as rural. This power fell mainly into the hands of town-

dwelling political lawyers, money-lenders, doctors, Brahmins and others who belong to the small section which is fluent in English and has always sought to oppress the people.

(3) In the Executive Councils a preposterous system, known as “diarchy,” was introduced. The Executive was supposed to operate in two compartments, one responsible to the Government and the other, with power over important services, to the Legislative Council. In practice, the “diarchy” has disappeared; but it led to confusion in the administration and to some amazing incidents, as when Councils refused to vote the salary of their “Ministers.” The obstructive powers conferred on all these Parliaments are enormous; but the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors can resort, in some circumstances, to vetoes and certifications, and have already been forced to do so. It is plainly impossible to govern by these expedients.

This complicated, exotic Constitution, which is understood only by an insignificant fraction of Western-educated Indians, was set up by the loyal efforts of British civil servants, and otherwise could never have materialized. Its vicious features are the disastrous weakening of authority throughout India and

the heartless neglect of the interests of the masses, who have never shown the smallest desire for political change. It is maintained in being only by British bayonets in the background, and it would dissolve like "the baseless fabric of a vision" if that support were withdrawn. The results anticipated by all who knew India have been ominous. From the time when it was realized by the Indian politicians that Mr. Montagu could be intimidated, organized disturbances began to take acute form. In the Spring of 1919, before the passing of the bill, a better planned and more wide-ranging rebellion than the mutiny of 1857 broke out, and was intended to coincide with an Afghan invasion. If, as was contemplated, the Indian rebels had been able to cut the railways in the Punjab behind the troops on the frontier, the situation might have become desperate. Either the rebellion was premature or the Afghans were too late, and the prompt action taken by the Government of the Punjab enabled the belated invasion to be defeated. The position was most critical until the stern action of General Dyer at Amritsar restored order. The shooting at Talianwala Bagh has been described in America and elsewhere as a massacre. At another great town, not in the Punjab, the losses were at least as great, but this fact is not known.

AMRITSAR SHOOTING A NECESSITY

The simple facts are that Amritsar was in the hands of the rebels, who were preparing to loot the city, and scattered over the Punjab there were isolated groups of Europeans, men and women, who could not be directly protected. After three warnings, a large mob assembled, under orders from the leaders of the rebellion, and was dispersed by the fire of fifty Indian soldiers. The losses were deplorable, because they fell upon ignorant people incited to rebellion by politicians, who were careful to keep out of danger. But this sharp lesson, which has parallels in American history, saved tens of thousands of lives. The citizens of Amritsar came in crowds

to thank General Dyer, and the Sikhs bestowed a special honor upon him. If an inquiry had taken place at once, Indians would have flocked to give evidence proving the urgent necessity for his action from the Indian point of view. When, many months later, the Hunter Commission began its irregular proceedings, there had been time for the political leaders to create an atmosphere in England and India, and witnesses, Indian and British, who told the truth, were subjected to persecution. It was left to an English Judge, who *for the first time received sworn evidence* as to these occurrences, to pronounce this year a verdict which the impartial historian will be compelled to endorse.

The next serious rising was that of the Moplahs in the difficult and dense country of Malabar. This was due entirely to the freedom granted to political agitators to stir up the well-known fanaticism of a backward Moslem population. Thousands of Hindus were killed, and outrages of all kinds were perpetrated before this rebellion could be put down by our military forces. The long tale of subsequent rioting cannot here be told. There is scarcely a large town in India which has not known murderous outbreaks, the deliberately organized disturbances in Bombay on the arrival of the Prince of Wales being especially significant. These disturbances lasted two days, and Parsees as well as Europeans were objects of attack. The casualties were numerous. Mobs in Calcutta have recently been murdering Sikhs and subsequently Gurkas. Never before has the mutual hostility of Moslems and Hindus assumed such violent forms as at Multan, Lahore, and Delhi, requiring British troops to prevent wholesale destruction. The total loss of life since Mr. Montagu took office exceeds that in all the previous years since the great mutiny. While the rival communities were engaged in killing each other, their self-appointed leaders have been amicably conspiring against British rule. All this naturally and inevitably follows manifestations of weakness in any East-

ern government. The outstanding results of Mr. Montagu's "series of ineffectual concessions" has been to promote Indian race hatreds on the one hand and color prejudice on the other, the latter being formerly unknown or negligible.

Americans will not fail to recognize a similarity between their difficulties in the Philippines and ours in India, allowing for the differences of area and population. The Filipino ilustrados have many points in common with the Indian intelligentsia, and both have sought political support in the governing countries. President Wilson, like our Mr. Montagu, decided on an experiment in "self-determination"—a term which Mr. Lansing most wisely described as "loaded with dynamite." The American experiment resulted in administrative chaos and in undoing the fine work of the Americans which Governor General Leonard Wood is valiantly endeavoring to restore. In America, as in England, a political party is willing to abandon the task of giving good government to an eastern people. The future of both India and the Philippines is

now in the melting pot of domestic politics.

UNWORKABLE CONSTITUTION

Our Socialist Government is already violating the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution, which was to last until 1929, and then to be the subject of inquiry by a commission to be sent out for the purpose. A commission has been set up in India and is proceeding to take the machine to pieces, alleging quite correctly, but from a point of view differing from mine, that it is unworkable. The demand is now for complete Home Rule (Swaraj). We are to remain in India until such time as the politicians have created armies for their protection, and while keeping them in power, we are to look on unmoved at the destruction of our work of a century and a half. Already corruption is asserting itself in ugly forms; already courts are beginning to be distrusted where religious differences exist; already it is dawning upon Moslems that, under the operation of democratic institutions, they must be politically swamped by the huge preponderance of



Procession of natives on the way to the Golden Temple at Amritsar to pledge resistance to British rule

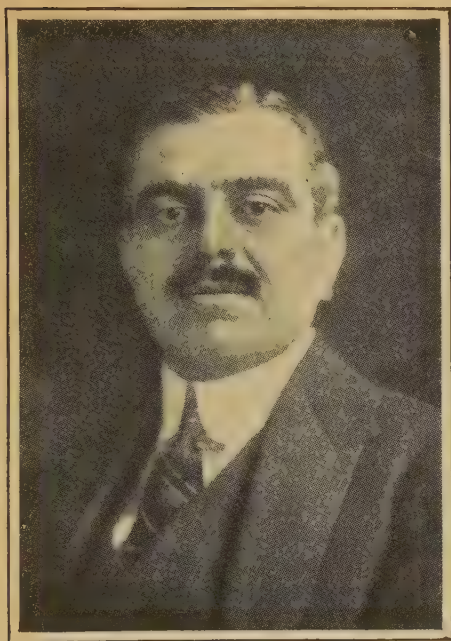
Hindus. We in the West accommodate ourselves as best we may to majority rule—the first principle of democracy. Warlike peoples in the East will never so easily resign themselves to the vagaries of the ballot box. The 70,000,000 Moslems in British India contain some of the most virile elements in the population, cherishing the traditions of a ruling race, and now elated by the successes of the Turks. Beyond the frontier are 200,000 well-armed fighting tribesmen, and in the background the shifty monarch of Afghanistan, who might at need respond to their call. Such is one of the possibilities of the future, history repeating itself in the form of another Mohammedan conquest of India.

Meanwhile, in the great native States the authority of the Chiefs has been maintained, and non-British India has been tranquil except where, as in Patiala, Nabha and Kashmir, troubles have been imported. The position of the great Chiefs is, however, threatened and may become extremely difficult. If the efforts of the politicians prevail with the Socialist Government in Great Britain, and if Swaraj supervenes, the guardianship which British rule has afforded to the native States will be withdrawn, and they will be face to face with the forces of subversion, which they would certainly resist by force. Some of them have military forces which they would use to carve out larger territories from the welter which would follow a lapse of authority in British India. Such extensions have been already planned. Here lie possibilities which no one who does not know India can grasp.

So far as I am able to judge, we approach the time at which a decision to "govern or go" will have to be taken. The responsibility for the defense of an immense country, always threatened on its northern and northwestern frontiers, cannot be separated from that of government. This principle will also be found to apply to the case of the Philippines. Unless we retain complete control of the armed forces of India, there

will be nothing to prevent the Nepalese from occupying Calcutta or the Pathans from sacking Delhi. Compromise with the Indian politicians on this point is impossible. They may and they do seek to raise a revolt among our native troops, and in this respect the situation resembles that before the mutiny in 1857. But some sections of the Indian army would never follow their lead, and there is no large localized force corresponding to the Bengal army of 1857 which they could manipulate. Military considerations, which I cannot here discuss, are of supreme importance, and in the prevailing atmosphere of pacifism, which befores realities in the East and elsewhere, these questions may be ignored.

A gallant Indian soldier has pertinently asked: "What is to be expected of a Government from which its friends have nothing to hope and its enemies nothing to fear?" In these words our policy since Mr. Montagu's accession to office is not unjustly described. Clearly, such a policy cannot endure; but it has had most serious effects upon the great public services now crumbling. The Indian Civil Service, correctly described by Mr. Lloyd George as "the steel frame" which supported the whole Administration, is falling apart. Economic stress has told heavily upon this splendid body. The conditions of its service have changed so greatly as to cause wholesale resignations, of experienced men and the almost complete failure of recruiting. For years British civil servants have worked under Indians trained in Western methods, but they have now fallen under the sway of amateur Indian politicians and have lost the protection they formerly enjoyed. They are always liable to periodical attacks in the Councils, and the Government does not defend them. They do not forget that the men who helped to save Northern India in 1919 were censured and penalized. They see paid agitators allowed to poison the minds of the people who trusted them. Their wives and families



THE AGA KHAN

The leader of the Mohammedans of India,
with many religious followers in other
Moslem countries

in many districts are deprived of the services of British doctors, and even their tenure of office and their pensions are not explicitly guaranteed by the Home Government.

SERVICES DETERIORATING

In these circumstances it is natural that the Indian Civil Service should lose heart, and other services are in the same position. The Indian Medical Service, which has done fine work for health and sanitation, has almost disappeared. A commission has recently investigated these matters, and has made proposals for improving the financial position of our public services and thus fulfilling pledges made to them. These proposals are being held up for discussion in the hostile Indian Assembly, and may have to be passed by certification. The grave question arises as to whether, in the present state of the public services, it is any longer possible to govern.

I have tried to compress within a short space the outstanding features of the situation in India as it exists today; but much has necessarily been omitted. I cannot deal adequately with the complexity of causes which are leading to a crisis. A faulty system of education, based upon Macaulay's misconception, turned out in large numbers young Indians for whom no useful work could be found, and who naturally turned against the Government. The defeat of Russia by Japan deeply impressed all the Eastern peoples. Before the World War German intrigues were at work which affected Moslems especially and produced the Khilafat leaders who proclaimed that the British were attacking the Caliphate, since destroyed by their Turkish allies. Secret societies and latterly Bolshevik money and emissaries, whose objects differed radically from those of the Indian revolutionaries, but agreed in creating a ferment against British rule, have played a not unimportant part. It is, however, to our own policy of making successive concessions indicating fear, which is a fatal attitude in the East, that I attribute the main source of our present acute difficulties. By setting up an exotic Western Constitution for which India is at present totally unfitted, and which was therefore unworkable, we invited the demand for full self-government. The little class oligarchy which we placed in power in the sacred name of democracy cannot rule, and its leaders do not even trust each other. The Hindus apparently agree only in desiring to break away from Western culture and methods and to bring back a Golden Age which never existed. If left to themselves, they would wreck any democratic Constitution.

We are and we remain solely responsible for the welfare and the gradual uplifting of the vast masses of Indian peoples, to whom our authority alone can give law, order and equal justice. The alternative is written in letters of blood on the pages of Indian history.

Labor's Attitude Toward a Third Party

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

Author of "The Larger Aspects of Socialism," "Progressivism and After,"
"Sovietism," and Other Works.

LA FOLLETTE'S Labor Day message in 1922, as featured in the official organ of the American Federation of Labor, was this: "The workers' weapon is the ballot. It is an effective and all powerful weapon. Wielded with intelligence it cannot fail to win."

Political action for labor, nation-wide and effective, is what La Follette stands for to the organized wage earners of America—not government ownership; not any alien or un-American doctrine; not the isolation of America in international affairs or the condemnation of America's participation or America's associates in the late war; not a Socialist Party modeled on the British Labor Party.

The views of La Follette and Gompers as to the import and promise of political action for labor are identical. In his last Christmas greeting to his followers, the President of the American Federation of Labor pointed out—for the hundredth time and more emphatically than ever—that organized labor believed absolutely in the efficacy of political action: "The enemies of our movement say that we are not in politics. The fact is that we are in politics to the limit."

Professor John R. Commons has shown that, although America's labor unions gained far more from political or governmental action during the war than ever before, they are still unwilling to "displace" economic or non-political trade union action "as the keystone of their structure." That position is fundamental with American labor and was strongly reaffirmed by the Federation's

latest convention, held last October at Portland, Ore. The Federation does not want political action to "displace" economic action and it does not want government to absorb industry. On the contrary, it puts economic action before political action and hopes in the future to see self-governed industry predominant over merely political government—and largely displacing it. That was the essence of the famous Portland declaration against governmentalism. The Federation, this declaration shows, looks forward toward the gradual and spontaneous evolution of something like an industrial parliament to parallel and ultimately to overshadow the political parliament. This development is expected to arise, moreover, from industry itself, without any outside political pressure. But it is a total error to conclude from this that American labor aims to confine its attention to the economic field and believes that "political activities waste the energies of the unions"—a strange but widespread misconception due mainly to persons so much under the spell of European socialism and the British Labor Party that they see no political course for labor outside a labor party and no program apart from socialism. The Portland convention of the American Federation declared:

The records demonstrate that the American Federation of Labor is not unmindful of the necessity, advisability or desirability of massing and guiding the potential political power of the wage earners and of all groups sympathetic to the cause of organized labor.

The purpose of the Federation in assuming this mobilization of the labor

union vote is, first, defensive—to protect the unions as well as the individual workers both in their political and in their non-political activities; that is, “to prevent infringement upon the civil, economic and industrial rights of the wage earners.” But indissolubly connected with this objective is, second, this broader aim, which might serve as a basis of cooperation with almost any other democratic elements:

To safeguard and promote the welfare and well-being of the wage earners and of all citizens, and to prevent the powers of government being used by any one group for the exploitation of another.

The emphasis is upon the last clause, which aims at the economic “powers that be.” This definition of the main objectives of American labor in politics was accompanied by an equally clear and positive statement of tactics:

Experience has demonstrated that any attempt to mass and direct the potential and actual power of the wage earners through any form of fixed party scheme is to destroy that efficiency that comes from flexible mobility of power to meet whatever emergency may arise, from whatever source it may emanate.

Unfortunately the word “non-partisan,” used by the unions to designate their political tactics, sounds much like the word “neutral.” Far from being neutral, the tactics of American labor are, and have been for more than a decade, considerably more aggressive than ordinary partisan tactics. Labor in this country has been in reality bi-partisan and has lately become tri-partisan. It is

not true that the American Federation of Labor uses no parties (as the term non-partisan might imply); it uses all parties, including third or new parties. It uses also individual candidatures, like that of La Follette, when there is no party, and may never be any party, behind them. It does not discourage political organization; it calls for more political organization. But it refuses to put all its hopes in any one party and it does not care to become politically dependent upon any one party.

If there should be a political realignment, with one conservative and one progressive party, organized labor's present “non-partisan” tactics would undoubtedly be more or less affected. But there is no sign that they will be abandoned. A conservative versus progressive realignment presents itself as the ideal—with no desirable alternative—to many people, but not to the heads of the American labor movement. Equally good, or better, than even an ideal two-party system, they believe, would be the continuation of present development toward what may almost be



Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin and Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, Progressive candidates for President and Vice President, respectively

called a no-party system, namely, a system of two nominal or so-called parties regarded as mere shells, devoid of principle but indispensable to fulfill the requirements of American political institutions—both of them being used openly and systematically for practical purposes, by great economic and political organizations, such as labor unions and associations of agriculturists. To such organizations, concerned primarily with men, measures and principles, but forced to give some attention also to political machinery, office seeking and the minor but multitudinous legislative and administrative favors and other dominating interests of partisan politics in order to achieve their larger objectives, two great colorless parties (government and opposition) may appear as the most serviceable and least dangerous of political instruments.

It has been said in criticism of American labor's political tactics that they have been defensive rather than offensive, that action has been limited to legislation and to punishing hostile legislators, that the unions have acted only in the final elections and not in the party primaries, thus being often reduced, under our American two-party system, to a choice of evils. All these criticisms once contained a considerable measure of truth, but they contain hardly more than a grain of truth today. The political policy of the Federation has of necessity been only gradually evolved and some of these difficulties could not have been met effectively from the outset. Naturally defensive action, upon which all labor has usually been united, came before offensive action, upon which even today it is more or less divided, and the election of legislators in factory or mine districts was easier than the effort to elect executives in entire States with large non-labor populations. It was easier and more effective to choose between two candidates already named by the big parties than it was to try to force the selection and nomination of a candidate satisfactory to labor—to say nothing of the difficul-

ty of running and electing an independent. A brief glance at the recent history of labor's political activities in this country, especially in the last two years, shows the steady and consistent development of a policy based exclusively on American experience and free from all non-labor and non-American influence.

SUCCESSFUL LABOR POLICY

The American Federation of Labor has tested its non-partisan policy for eighteen years, and for the last sixteen with growing success. Its first national political experiment was an attempt, in 1906, to defeat its arch-enemy in Congress, Representative Littlefield of Maine. The attempt failed, but two years later it was successful. From that year, 1908, to the last Congressional election in 1922 the Federation has measured its success by two tests—the number of labor-endorsed measures passed by Congress and the number of Congressmen favorable to organized labor. A large majority of the measures favored by labor in 1908 have been enacted into law, especially during the first Wilson Administration from 1912 to 1916. In 1916 Wilson was endorsed for President and in 1920 the Federation favored the Democratic as against the Republican platform, and threw its moral weight to Cox, though there was no official endorsement, as of Wilson in 1912 and La Follette in this election. In the Congress of 1916 a considerable majority of the Democrats and many of the Roosevelt or Progressive Republicans were accounted as favorable to labor; the Congressional election of 1918 brought a set-back and after the election of 1920 labor could not reckon its reliable friends in the House of Representatives as more than fifty and in the Senate as more than fifteen members.

The early political successes of labor were secured largely by its active participation in the moderately progressive movements of Roosevelt and Wilson, and reached their climax in 1917 and 1918 as a result of the new status of labor and the patriotic attitude of the

Federation during the war. With the reaction after the war and the gradual disappearance of Rooseveltian and Wilsonian progressives a part of these gains were lost, though they were largely recaptured by the joint La Follette-Gompers radical progressive effort in the last Congressional election.

During these two decades American labor's political activity, tactics and program have gone through a steady and rapid evolution. While the A. F. of L. has never been anti-political, as has sometimes been asserted, it had been non-political before 1906. During all the earlier part of this period and right up to the 1922 election we find surviving, alongside the germs of the present broad political effort to unite labor, farmers and other "producers," the older and narrower tactics of endeavoring to elect trade unionists. As late as the convention held in June, 1922, the position was taken that "there are at least fifty Congressional districts in this country, now represented by men who are not in accord with our legislative program and who are generally hostile to our objectives, from which trade unionists might be elected."

The election showed there were more than twice that many districts not yet won, from which friendly candidates could be elected, and the records of these candidates in Congress justified their election from the labor standpoint. But the majority were from agricultural districts and only a handful were trade unionists. This result was, indeed, one that labor had long been working for. Every effort had been made since 1908 to secure cooperation with the farmers' economic organizations—and, usually, these efforts had succeeded. Labor's chief political declarations since the war had almost invariably mentioned the farmers as labor's natural political allies.

At this same convention of June, 1922, held after most of the primaries had taken place, it was resolved unanimously to take a more active interest in political conventions and primaries of

both the old parties, so "getting control of the two old parties' machinery and ultimately controlling the machinery of our National Government." No detailed plan was worked out to put this grandiose scheme into effect. La Follette, though he addressed the convention, and was introduced by Gompers in eulogistic terms, had not yet provided labor with its first national political leader. The Federation was at that time even further than it is today from the capture of the political machinery of either party in the nation or in any important State. But labor's political aspirations, quickened by nation-wide primary victories, had reached this ambitious point without its having any notion of abandoning its bipartisan tactics or of approving a third party. At the same time it was already far beyond the mere balance-of-power idea, based on a modest group of fifty to one hundred Republican and Democratic Representatives, trade unionists or men pledged to labor, out of a total House of 440 members.

A POLITICAL REVOLUTION

After the primaries of 1922, but before the election, Senator Borah said that "a political revolution" was going on and predicted that unless there was "a complete change in the program of the Republican Party" there would be "a formidable third-party movement in 1924."

As to the advance made by labor in the 1922 primaries, Mr. Gompers put forth the following claim:

Labor has already accomplished one definite thing of tremendous significance to the American people. It has stunned the reactionists so effectively as to make certain that the next Congress will be unable to enact any piece of important reactionary legislation. * * *

Labor opposed New in Indiana, McCumber in North Dakota and Newberry in Michigan. Labor is for Robert M. La Follette; it is for Hiram Johnson; it is with Smith in New York and Pinchot in Pennsylvania. It is for Frazier in North Dakota and for Brookhart in Iowa. These are but examples of our choice. * * *

Let the reactionary politicians remember this: Labor has a militant progressive organization in every State in the Union.

The election of 1922 surpassed the primaries. According to the A. F. of L., as well as the railway brotherhoods, twenty-three of the twenty-seven Senators supported by labor were elected in addition to some 170 Representatives. It was not exactly a progressive and labor "victory" since the labor-progressive forces had few or no candidates in many sections, for example, in two-thirds of the Congressional districts. But it led to big expectations and plans for 1924. After the 1922 election, President Gompers declared:

There probably has never been an election in the United States in which the result was more significant for principles and less significant for partisan politics. The repudiation of reactionary Republicans was no less striking than the sweeping success of progressive Republicans.

Where the electors were more emphatic in retiring such Republicans as Mondell, Calder, Townsend, Kellogg, Sutherland, Frelinghuysen and Poindexter, they were equally emphatic in electing such Republicans as Brookhart, Johnson, La Follette and Frazier.

Where the voters in Pennsylvania elected the progressive Gifford Pinchot as Governor on the Republican ticket they elected the progressive Al Smith as Governor on the Democratic ticket in the State of New York. Where they elected the progressive J. J. Blaine as Governor on the Republican ticket in Wisconsin they elected the progressive G. W. P. Hunt as Governor on the Democratic ticket in Arizona.

In important instances, as in the defeat in Kansas of Representative Campbell, Chairman of the House Rules Committee, the victims acknowledged the part played by labor in their defeat. As to issues, Mr. Gompers claimed that "compulsory labor, injunctions, the overriding of law and Constitution, the Railroad Labor Board, the sales tax, the ship subsidy, were things typifying the general concept that was repudiated and condemned forcefully and overwhelmingly on Nov. 7."

The Congress elected in 1922 as a whole made a record that was moderately "satisfactory" to labor. With the aid of "progressives" all measures labeled as reactionary by the unions and

their allies were defeated, the House rules were revolutionized under the leadership of La Follette, and with Gompers's active support, the Mellon tax plan was defeated, the soldiers' bonus was passed over President Coolidge's veto. The Barkley-Howell bill to repeal the semi-compulsory arbitration features of the Cummins-Esch act, which at present regulates railroad labor, and the bills to establish a governmental marketing corporation for agriculture failed to pass. But the new House rule, giving a chance for 150 Representatives to force a vote on any measure, showed more than 170 votes in favor of these bills.

Since the 1922 election joint political action with farmers' organizations and with the farm bloc in Congress has become a permanent feature of A. F. of L. policy, a result that was accelerated by the Conference for Progressive Political Action (known as the C. P. P. A.), which nominated La Follette for President on July 4. This body, which was organized two years ago, mainly by the railroad brotherhoods—trainmen's unions outside the Federation—by those A. F. of L. unions which embrace the railway shopmen, and by the unions of the needle trades, has included several farmer elements from the beginning, and by its constitution invites them to a place of equal power in the organization. The Progressive Conference is also supported by various Socialist and radical groups, though so far they have been subordinated by the C. P. P. A. as well as by La Follette's own Washington and Northwestern organizations.

THE C. P. P. A.

The press and the public have chosen to call the C. P. P. A. a new party movement. This is inaccurate. The results secured by labor from its non-partisan policy are as highly estimated by this organization as by the Federation itself. The magazine *Labor*, the organ of the railway unions and of the C. P. P. A., declared editorially as late as June 28, that American labor, with

its non-partisan methods, had progressed further than British Labor with its Labor Party and Labor Government:

Labor ventures the assertion that the American workers have as strongly a grip on their Congress as the British workers have on their Parliament. The American workers have not organized a Labor Party, because they have found they could secure better results by working through the American primary system—a system which is unknown in Britain. After all, results count, and measured by results the American workers can say with truth that they have achieved as much—politically and economically—as the workers of any other land. There is a new atmosphere in Washington, and it has been produced almost exclusively by the workers' vigorous non-partisan political action.

William H. Johnston, President of the Machinists' Union, the Chairman of this supposed movement for a new party, also fully appreciates non-partisan tactics. "We should remember," he says, "that the greatest political achievements in the history of our country have been brought about by non-partisan groups which have used political parties instead of permitting political parties to use them." This is precisely the A. F. of L. idea. Johnston continues:

If we organize a new party we must be prepared to dedicate all our energies to developing and strengthening that party. We must say to our friends in the old parties, men like La Follette and Brookhart and Frazier, who call themselves Republicans, and Huddleston, Wheeler and Sweet, who call themselves Democrats: "We will not support you unless you come out of your old parties and join this new party which we have formed." Are we prepared to do that? I do not think so. That would be playing into the hands of the enemy, in my judgment. It requires no straining of the imagination to visualize the joys with which the members of the Old Guard in both parties would hail the announcement that the fighting Progressives, led by La Follette and Huddleston, had been forced to abandon all efforts to control the primaries.

Other primaries will be held next year and the year after. Not only have Brookhart and Frazier and Sweet, and a score of equally eminent Democratic and Republican radical-progressives,

men whose progressivism is of the brand approved by La Follette, failed to leave their parties, but there is no sign that they intend to do so.

The organization that nominated La Follette at Cleveland was, indeed, launched only two years ago with the definite pledge that it was not a new party movement. "This is not an attempt to form a new party," it declared; "it is an effort to make use of those constructive forces already in existence and by cooperation to bring about political unity." These were the words of the call for the first conference, which met at Chicago in February, 1922, and the same thing has been constantly repeated by its leaders. Here is how Colonel (now Senator) Brookhart described the organization, purposes and control of that conference:

W. H. Johnston of the Machinists' Union and H. E. Wills, Assistant Grand Chief of the Engineers' Brotherhood, informed me of the conference and said its purpose was to head off some radicals and Socialists in the labor movement in an open conference where the radicals would be many times outnumbered. They said it was their purpose to lead the great solid and reliable part of the labor unions to a sound American platform in the old parties and in cooperation with the farmers.

This Cleveland organization as well as the American Federation of Labor supported the formation of the new State-wide Farmer-Labor Party which sent Henrik Shipstead and Magnus Johnson to the United States Senate from Minnesota. But they did this only because they held they had been driven out of the Republican primaries. Shipstead explained how it came about:

Last year, 1922, a pre-primary convention law was passed by the Legislature of Minnesota. It was enacted for the purpose of keeping the old reactionaries in power by handicapping Progressive candidates who might file in the primaries. Therefore, this group of 281,000 voters, who so nobly withstood the poison gas propaganda in the last campaign, nominated me as their candidate for the United States Senate on the Farmer-Labor ticket.

Labor entered into the 1924 Presidential campaign encouraged to the point of hoping for, if not expecting, a favorable hearing from one or both of the big parties. This expectation was apparently well founded in the case of the Democrats, since both the leading candidates for the Presidential nomination, Smith and McAdoo, had long records acceptable to labor, and the preceding Democratic platforms of 1916 and 1920 had received a qualified labor endorsement. The Federation appeared at both Republican and Democratic conventions with a list of fifteen platform planks, only a few of them radical, and with a plea for the nomination of candidates friendly to labor.

After his rebuff at the Republican Convention at Cleveland, Mr. Gompers delivered a forty-minute plea in New York before the Democratic Platform Committee, presided over by William Jennings Bryan, and left no doubt whatever of labor's intentions if repudiated by the convention: "If we are disappointed here, as we were in Cleveland, I leave it to your imagination where the masses of the people will go." Immediately after the adoption of the Democratic platform the labor chiefs began to lay plans for the non-partisan endorsement of La Follette, as an "independent Republican candidate, running as such." Mr. Gompers's first precaution was to issue several public declarations re-affirming and re-stating the Federation's non-partisan political policy in order to make it clear that American labor at this time was not headed toward any third party, a Labor Party on the British model, a Farmer-Labor Party on the Minnesota plan, or any other. The underlying reasoning in these statements was not that a new party was undesirable under all circumstances, but that if conditions should continue to ripen for a new party, it must not remain a third party if it is to get any large measure of labor support. This being the case, several conclusions follow:

(1) The easier method, where practicable, is to capture the machinery of

one of the two old parties or part of the machinery of both.

(2) If there is to be a new party it should have a reasonable expectation, as was the case in Minnesota, of at once becoming the first or second party.

(3) The main requirement in order to accomplish either of these objects is that labor should remain united within and united with its friends and allies without, since it cannot make any serious progress toward winning executive and judicial elections without having with it at least a fourth of the electorate.

In view of these considerations the Federation in its endorsement of La Follette not only definitely refuses for the moment to approve of any new party idea, but leaves the door open to a future endorsement of Democratic or Republican Presidential candidates and platforms if either of these parties reform according to labor's requirements. "We are judging on the basis of the conditions that exist," it declared, "and this judgment will be reversed only when the conditions upon which it is based are changed." What are the chances that the old parties will reform to suit labor's requirements? The A. F. of L. has declared them both to be "morally bankrupt," under the control of machine politicians, and "a menace and a peril to our country and its institutions," a state of affairs which (if true) does not suggest early reform, but rather points to further endorsements, at least locally and temporarily, of a new party.

Like Senator La Follette, Mr. Gompers believes that a new party in this country, if it should materialize, will not be born in a day and that something like a political revolution will be required to bring it about. But he is fully prepared for that revolution. "If the time ever comes," he has recently declared, "when neither of the now dominant parties responds to the will of the people, then the people will either rebuild one or both of them or abandon both of them in a great revolt and rebuilding." The one alternative to a new

party now before labor and its progressive allies, namely government by non-partisan Congressional bloc, is even more revolutionary and altogether new and unparalleled in any country. This is because the American bloc is a legislative bloc composed of legislators following the lead of permanent economic organizations and not an administrative bloc composed of political parties, and often largely of minor and shifting political groups, like the European systems to which it has been so generally and fatuously compared—and to which it has no resemblance. Conservatives have grasped the full force of the new development. As a great newspaper of the Middle West has declared:

This process cannot go on forever without destroying government by parties * * * They will cease to mean anything if their candidates go into elections with involvement and commitments which have nothing to do with party principles or policies. * * * We shall have group domination and not party control.

ECONOMIC GOVERNMENT

That is, we shall have government by economic organizations of labor, agriculture and other permanent producing groups. President Coolidge and General Dawes have denounced the bloc system as representing "organized minorities." Two years ago General Dawes spoke more specifically of the cowardice of Congress before "the organized minorities of the soldier bonus bloc, the farm bloc, the labor bloc, the maternity bloc, the good roads bloc." The radical-progressive view is that the largest and most stable of these organized minorities, the farm organizations and organized labor, when acting together represent a majority of the population and that rule by a majority composed of two or more organized minorities of this type—its composition changing from time to time, so as to bring into the Government in the long run all the most important groups of producers—would provide the most solid possible foundation for efficient, representative and progressive government.

Both Gompers and La Follette are

prepared for a new party as a possibility, but what they have been aiming at for several years, and are working to promote today, is non-partisan government. La Follette has had fully as much to do as Gompers with the formation of the labor-progressive Republican-Democratic bloc in Congress. It is true that in his letter of acceptance La Follette says that he hopes for a realignment and the formation of "an aggressively progressive party." He says he is "confident" that the electors in November will give him a vote "of such magnitude that a new party will be inevitable." Of what magnitude? La Follette gives an unambiguous answer:

If the people in this campaign repudiate the Presidential candidates of the Republican and Democratic Parties, as in the providence of God I trust and believe they will, we shall then witness the birth of a new party.

La Follette thus pledges himself to forsake non-partisan tactics to abandon the Congressional radical-progressive bloc, composed of Republicans and Democrats, and to endorse a new party, only in the contingency that he is elected President. Even the radical convention that nominated him at Cleveland has agreed merely to "consider" this question in January. Nor did that convention embrace the more conservative majority of La Follette's organized support, namely, the American Federation of Labor and his organizations, composed mainly of agriculturists, in the North-western States.

Repeated declarations, such as in his letter accepting the Presidential nomination, have been made by La Follette that he will do nothing "to diminish the number of true Progressives nominally elected as Republicans and Democrats, who are now serving the public in the House, the Senate and many of the State Governments." When the American Federation of Labor in offering him its endorsement issued a statement to the effect that

organized labor owes allegiance to no political party or group. It is not partisan to any political party or group. It is partisan to

La Follette replied that this paragraph set forth a creed of citizenship which, if accepted and acted upon by the great body of common citizens, would rapidly make the Government of our country what it was intended to be, the people's own instrument of service.

and that his public record had shown him to be in accord with the Federation.

After the election, unless La Follette should chance to win, the main political contest for four years will be for the control of Congress. Neither La Follette nor the Federation of Labor intends to allow any possible new party movement to interfere with their efforts at the further building up of the Republican-Democratic radical-progressive bloc, unless to add a few third party men to it without changing its character, as was done in the case of Senators Shipstead and Magnus Johnson of Minnesota. Nor has there been any major difference between La Follette and the Federation as to which candidates should have labor-progressive support. The two organizations are entirely independent in this Congressional effort, but the Federation has not only publicly claimed the leadership but says its leadership is generally accepted in labor-progressive circles. The Executive Council of the Federation declares:

In the campaign to elect men to Congress, regardless of their political group or party affiliation and deserving of labor's support, there must be unity of purpose and method; therefore leadership must lie with the only organization having the right to speak for the entire labor movement. In this the American Federation of Labor yields to none, but will maintain steadfast its leadership, guidance and direction.

To this declaration Vice President Woll added the following highly significant explanation, which did not receive the attention it deserved:

In the Congressional campaign, as has been clearly set forth in the report adopted, the American Federation of Labor, through its Campaign Committee, will assume leadership. It is now possible to state that there is no intention anywhere evident to question that leadership. It will be accepted throughout the labor movement, and we are confident that the qualifications of the American Federation of Labor to assume that leadership—which it

has always assumed—will be thoroughly understood by all important factors in the campaign.

On the other side, La Follette, relegating the Socialist and dissident labor unions that are supporting him to a secondary position, has publicly accepted the American Federation of Labor as representing the American labor movement politically, has endorsed its "democratic organization and exceptional leadership," has given it credit as having been "a prime factor" in every progressive movement and says it has "fully demonstrated its complete devotion to the best interests of the American nation."

There will be an effort to form a new party after the November election. According to its established policy, American labor might endorse such a movement temporarily and locally, but would not join it permanently or nationally for these reasons: First, because joining would subordinate the unions' non-political activities to politics and threaten their present independence of all outside non-union elements, such as the radical and revolutionary "intellectuals" who dominate the British Labor Party and many other so-called "labor movements," and are beginning to swarm in this country; second, because American labor holds that the non-partisan method has been vindicated in this country and is preferable to fusing its fortunes with those of a radical-progressive party, no matter how successful such a party might be. The preservation of the two old parties, regarded as hollow shells necessarily devoid of principles because of their composition and functions; but alternately useful for practical purposes, leaves political power mainly in the hands of great representative economic organizations, such as the labor unions, the farmers organizations, and the chambers of commerce. This, the Federation believes, would put American politics before those of any other country, upon that scientific economic foundation which has been the goal of so many political and economic philosophers of our time.

When Congress Elects the President

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

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WHAT would happen if, in the coming November election, no one of the candidates for President or Vice President were to receive a majority of the electoral votes? There are two ways in which such a situation might arise. If the electors in each State vote as a unit, as is ordinarily the case, and cast the same number of votes for President as they cast for Vice President, any or all of the candidates might nevertheless fail to carry enough States to give a majority in the Electoral College, while if the electoral vote of several States is split either as between parties or between candidates of the same party, it may easily come about not only that no candidate for either office will command a majority of the whole number of votes, but also that the number of votes for President and Vice President will not be the same.

Neither of these results could happen if, with only two parties in the field, the electors in each State vote solidly for their party candidates, because the total membership of the Electoral College, the same as the combined membership of the Senate and House of Representatives, is an odd number; but if three or more parties were each to win some electoral votes, the casting of solid votes by the electors in each State would not necessarily give any party ticket a majority, while if the electors split their votes it might without difficulty happen that a President would be chosen without a Vice President to keep him company, or that the country would have a Vice President, but no President.

The framers of the Constitution were content to leave the choice of a Vice

President to be determined, if need be, by a plurality, but they undertook to provide for the contingency under which no candidate for President should have a majority. Under the Constitution as adopted, the electors in the several States were required to "vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State as themselves," and to make lists of the several persons voted for and the number of votes for each. They were not, however, required or expected to indicate in their ballots their choice for either President or Vice President. When the votes were counted in a joint meeting of the Senate and the House of Representatives, the person having the highest number of votes was to be President, provided such number was a majority of the whole number of electors. If, however, two or more persons, each having a majority, received each the same number of votes, the House was immediately to choose by ballot one of them for President, each State for this purpose being accorded one vote, and a majority of the States being necessary to a choice; while if no person had received a majority, the choice was to be made by the House from the five names highest on the list. When the President had been chosen, the person having the next highest number of votes, whether that number was a majority or not, became Vice President, unless two or more candidates had each received the same number of "next highest" votes, in which case the Senate was to choose the Vice President from the list of such persons.

The election of 1800 brought this provision of the Constitution unexpectedly

into play, and added a political complication which the makers of the Constitution had not foreseen. When the electoral votes were counted it appeared that Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr had each received 73 votes, while 65 had been cast for John Adams, just finishing his only term as President; 64 for Senator Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina, and 1 for Governor John Jay of New York. Both Jefferson and Burr were Republicans; the House of Representatives, which, under the Constitution, must choose between them, was Federalist. On Feb. 17, 1801, the House, compelled to make a choice between two men both of whom it loathed and feared, embraced the lesser of two evils, eight States voting for Jefferson and six for Burr. The election of Jefferson as President left Burr with the next highest number of electoral votes, and he accordingly became Vice President.

THE TWELFTH AMENDMENT

It was clear that the Constitution had not taken party politics into the account, but it was also clear that so disagreeable and even dangerous a situation as had just arisen ought not to be allowed to occur again. In 1804, accordingly, the Twelfth Amendment replaced the original constitutional regulations with the provisions that are now in force. The electors were now required to designate in their ballots the persons voted for as President and those voted for as Vice President, and to record the number of votes for each. If, when the votes were counted, it appeared that no candidate for President had received a majority, the House was required to choose a President from among the three names highest on the list. In case the House should fail to make the choice before the 4th of March next following the election, the Vice President, if in the meantime one had been chosen, was to act as President in the same way that he would be called upon to act in case of the death or constitutional disability of the President.

The text of the Twelfth Amendment reads as follows:

Present mode of electing President and Vice President by electors.—The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

The Twelfth Amendment further did away with the arrangement by which the Vice President might be elected by a plurality vote, as had been the case with John Adams in the very first election, and required a majority vote as in the case of the President. If no candidate for Vice President had received a ma-

jority the choice devolved upon the Senate as before, with the difference that instead of having to choose only between two persons having the same number of votes, the choice was to be made "from the two highest numbers." As the amendment specifies "numbers" and not "persons," it is conceivable that the field of choice might include more than two persons, but no such case has actually arisen.

It was believed that the Twelfth Amendment had guarded against every contingency, but it nevertheless failed to take account of political complications in which an election of President or Vice President by the House or Senate, while strictly constitutional, might prove to be from a party point of view extremely irritating. Precisely such a complication developed in the famous election of 1824-25. The "era of good feeling," which was long regarded as an appropriate description of Monroe's second term (1821-25), is now seen to have been in reality a period of personal politics and of fundamental regrouping of parties, with the result that the campaign of 1824 saw an unprecedented number of candidates in the field. When the electoral votes were counted it was found that, of the total of 260 votes for Vice Presidential candidates, John C. Calhoun had received 182, and he was accordingly declared elected. Of the 261 electoral votes for Presidential candidates, on the other hand (Calhoun had fallen short one vote in Rhode Island), 99 had been given to Andrew Jackson, 84 to John Quincy Adams, 41 to William H. Crawford and 37 to Henry Clay. No candidate had been elected, and none had come anywhere near to receiving a majority.

The political contest which followed in the House of Representatives and in the country has had no parallel in our history. The popular vote, partly because of fusion tickets and partly because in six States the Legislatures at that time chose the electors, gives no very clear indication of public opinion, but Jackson's personal popularity was immense, Adams had a strong follow-

ing, and Clay was already in the front rank of American political leaders. Since the House of Representatives, however, was required to choose between the three candidates having, respectively, the highest number of votes, Clay, whose vote was the smallest of the four, was out of the race at the same time that his influence in the House would have weight in determining the result. Moreover, Crawford, the third candidate in order, had become physically incapacitated, and the contest accordingly narrowed in fact to a choice between Adams and Jackson.

THE "CORRUPT BARGAIN"

Shortly before the balloting began in the House, a Washington newspaper published a letter in which the writer charged that Adams, whose election by the House had been regarded as certain, had promised Clay the office of Secretary of State in return for Clay's aid in electing Adams. The charge, immediately hailed as a "corrupt bargain," was promptly denied by Clay, and no evidence has ever been adduced showing that the charge was true, but it proved a savory morsel for the politicians and in many parts of the country was unhesitatingly believed. Events, as it proved, were to give to the accusation all the appearance of verity. When, on Feb. 9, 1825, the electoral votes were counted and the House proceeded to ballot for President, the first ballot showed thirteen States voting for Adams, seven for Jackson and four for Crawford. Adams had won by a majority of two States, and when, shortly after, the appointment of Clay as Secretary of State was announced, the "corrupt bargain" was popularly regarded as signed and sealed.

The political consequences of the election were many and far-reaching. It undoubtedly strengthened in Jackson a certain contempt for the Constitution which he always exhibited, for although he did not question the entire constitutionality of the decision, an outcome which, as he viewed it, set at naught "the will of the people," was only "so much the worse

for the Constitution." The election solidified factional and personal opposition to Adams and doomed his Administration in advance; it made Jackson a foreordained candidate for the Presidency in 1828; it confronted Calhoun, whose Presidential aspirations were not concealed, with the alternatives of either opposing Jackson in the Presidential race in 1828, in which case he would be sure of defeat, or of keeping on good terms with Jackson in the hope of being again elected Vice President in 1828, in which case, having then served two terms, he would have to oppose Jackson in 1832 or else retire from the Presidential contest; and it left Clay out of the running until such time as the "corrupt bargain" charge should have spent its force. As it turned out, Jackson was triumphantly elected President in 1828, as triumphantly re-elected in 1832, and dictated the nomination of his successor, Van Buren, in 1836; Calhoun was re-elected Vice President in 1828, broke with Jackson and resigned his office when South Carolina tried nullification, and thereafter was not a candidate for either the Presidency or the Vice Presidency; while Clay, although a Presidential candidate in 1832, received only 49 electoral votes against 219 given for Jackson, and did not again appear as a candidate until 1844, when as a Whig he contested unsuccessfully the Democratic "dark-horse" candidacy of Polk.

As far as the electoral system was concerned the controversy of 1824-25 made two things clear. One was that, notwithstanding the Twelfth Amendment, the choice of a President might at any time devolve upon the House if more than two candidates received electoral votes, and this whether the electoral votes of the States were cast as a unit or were split. The other was that the action of the House, when a choice devolved upon it, was likely to be no mere matter of arithmetic. The fact that the House which was called upon to make the choice would always be, not the body which had been itself reconstituted at the same election in which Presidential candidates had been voted for,

but the old House elected two years before and holding over, under the peculiar constitutional system, until the March following the election, made it well-nigh a certainty that the selection of a President would call again into action the same political forces, prejudices and passions that had been evoked by the campaign, if, indeed, it did not bring others in their train.

VACANCIES BY DEATH

Save in a single instance, however, the election of President and Vice President, for more than fifty years after 1825, was achieved without the necessity of resort to Congress. The exception occurred in 1836, when none of the Vice Presidential candidates received the required majority of electoral votes, and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, whose name stood highest in the list, was chosen by the Senate. During that period three Presidents, William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor and Lincoln, died in office, but in each case there was a Vice President to succeed. Death also claimed two Vice Presidents, William R. King and Henry Wilson, but there is no provision in the Constitution for the choice of another Vice President under such circumstances, and as the Presidents in office lived out their terms the question of a Presidential vacancy did not have to be faced. In 1872 Horace Greeley, who had received three electoral votes of Georgia as the Liberal Republican candidate for President, died shortly after the election, and when the votes were before Congress to be counted, Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts objected to counting the three votes on the ground that Greeley was dead at the time the Georgia electors cast their votes. The question was disposed of by invoking the so-called "twenty-second joint rule," adopted by Congress in 1864 as a means of excluding the electoral votes of certain Southern States, according to which the concurrence of the two houses was necessary to the acceptance of any vote to which objection was made. As the House of Representatives voted to reject the

Greeley votes and the Senate voted to count them, the lack of concurrence threw out the votes.

The famous electoral controversy of 1876-77 raised an unprecedented issue. In four States, Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana and Oregon, two sets of electoral votes were cast and sent to Congress, each duly certified as lawful by official bodies claiming to represent the State. In the case of the first three of the States named the validity of the votes turned upon the legal status of reconstructed Governments which had been set up under the authority of Congress, and of bodies known as returning boards which had passed upon the votes. In Oregon the main point in controversy was the eligibility of a postmaster to serve as a Presidential elector, the Constitution prohibiting any person who holds any office of trust or profit under the United States from acting in that capacity. If all the 22 electoral votes of the four States were counted for Hayes, the Republican candidate, he would be elected by a majority of 1; if all were counted for Tilden, the Democratic candidate, a similar majority of 1 would give him the election. The gain or loss of a single vote, in other words, would determine the result.

As the Senate was Republican and the House Democratic, it was evident at once that the application of the twenty-second joint rule would not only throw out all the disputed votes, but that the bitter partisan struggle over the acceptance or rejection of the votes that was certain to ensue would probably cause the rejection of other votes and make impossible the choice of any person for either President or Vice President. To add to the dilemma the President pro tempore of the Senate, Ferry of Michigan (Vice President Wilson had died in office in 1875), let it be known that while the Constitution required him to open the papers containing the votes in the presence of the two houses, it did not specify that the President of the Senate should himself count the votes, and that he must decline to take that responsibility; the "counting" must be the act of

the Congress itself. No constitutional way out of the difficulty being discoverable, resort was finally had to the extra-constitutional device of an Electoral Commission, to whom the decision regarding the acceptance or rejection of the disputed returns should be left unless both houses agreed in rejecting the decision.

ELECTION OF HAYES

It was the intention of Congress to make the Electoral Commission an impartial body, but politics could not be foresworn in the face of a situation which was convulsing the country and provoking wild talk of seating one or other of the candidates by force. The Senate chose four Republicans and three Democrats, the House four Democrats and three Republicans, and it was upon the fifteenth member of the commission, Associate Justice Bradley of Massachusetts, that the momentous responsibility of decision was made to rest. By a strict party vote, but in accordance with principles since generally recognized as good law, the commission awarded all the disputed votes to Hayes, and he was accordingly declared elected.

Since 1877 there has been no occasion for either house of Congress to act in the choice of either President or Vice President except to count the electoral votes in the regular way. Until 1886, however, the question of how a President would be obtained if the House and the Senate, failing a choice by the electors, were unable to agree upon either a President or a Vice President before the 4th of March, remained open. A failure to choose a President in 1825 would not have left the Presidential office vacant, for the reason that Calhoun had been elected Vice President by the electors and the succession would have devolved automatically upon him. With the development of party solidarity and discipline, however, especially since 1856, the same number of electoral votes for both the Presidential and the Vice Presidential candidate of a party had come to be the rule, and it was unlikely that, in the event of a controversy, party lines

would be so far relaxed that the Vice Presidential candidate would be taken by Congress and the Presidential candidate left.

For some years before 1886 the difficulty had been patched up by a law providing that in case of the death, removal or disability of both the President and the Vice President, the Presidential office should devolve first upon the President pro tempore of the Senate and then upon the Speaker of the House. Obviously the law, which was never in fact applied, would serve only if the Senate or House had duly met and organized, but since the term of a Congress, like the term of a President, expires at midnight of March 3 and a new Congress does not necessarily assemble until December following, the failure of the House and Senate to choose a President and a Vice President might at any time have left the country without a President and with no constitutional way of immediately getting one.

The Presidential succession act of 1886 removed this danger tardily by devolving the succession, in case there is neither a President nor a Vice President, upon the members of the Cabinet in order, beginning with the Secretary of State and extending through the Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney General and Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of the Interior, provided, of course, that the officials named are constitutionally eligible to the office. Since the members of the Cabinet hold their places at the pleasure of the President, and do not automatically go out of office at the expiration of his term, notwithstanding that they customarily tender their resignations, it would be easy for them, or for any of them, to guard against a threatened vacancy in the Presidential office by merely retaining their offices. Mr. Hughes, for example, if he were at the

time in office, would under the statute become President if the House and Senate, failing a choice of President and Vice President in November, should for any reason fail to fill those offices by March 4, 1925.

One other question which might at any time become of first-rate importance still remains open. In providing for the choice of President and Vice President by Congress the Twelfth Amendment naturally deals with the President first, but it does not specifically state that the Senate shall delay its choice of a Vice President until the House shall have chosen a President. The point presents no difficulty where, as in 1876-77, the candidates of a party for the two offices receive the same number of electoral votes, and that number is a majority, since a decision of Congress in regard to the President is practically equivalent to a decision regarding the Vice President. Where, on the other hand, three or more sets of candidates are in the field or the electoral votes of the States have been split, it might without difficulty happen not only that Congress would be called upon to fill both offices, but that the number of electoral votes for candidates for the two offices, and even the number of candidates between whom the choice was to be made, would not be the same. Various predictions have been made that this might happen this year. For this problem the Constitution appears to offer no solution, and the procedure to be followed, if the problem arose, would have to be determined by agreement between the two houses of Congress. If, as the result of such agreement, the Senate were to succeed in choosing a Vice President while the House failed to choose a President, the Vice President so chosen would, of course, become President in accordance with the constitutional provision.

Ireland's House in Order

By MAUDE RADFORD WARREN

Novelist and Magazine Writer; Author of "The White Flame of France."

THE Dail Eireann, the Parliament of the Irish Free State, which is housed in a dignified college building in Dublin, does not present the impressive appearance of the United States Congress or the British House of Commons but compares very favorably, for example, with the Swiss or Bulgarian or Rumanian Parliament. This is natural, for most of the members have come from the middle classes and sometimes from the lower middle classes. Very few of them belong to what used to be called the ascendancy class. The leaders have great political influence, but with one or two exceptions they are scarcely known outside their own sets.

That an ascendancy or aristocratic class will rise from this class there is no doubt. Some of the young members of the Dail have a very smart look, wearing well-cut clothes and showing burnished hair and well manicured hands. If they do not go into Society with a capital "S," that is because it scarcely exists in Dublin, since the upper-class families have either left the country or have ceased to entertain. Yet the day is sure to come when the viceregal court will again be in full swing and when the daughters of old Irish aristocrats will be dancing with people from whom their politics and traditions once most radically differed. Something like this happened in our South after the Civil War, when the children of people in trade married into the old Southern families.

If there is at present no flavor of the ascendancy class in the Dail, neither is there the eloquence that made famous "the old house in College Green," when Grattan and his peers pealed forth their periods and the streets outside were full of people waiting to have the words retailed to them. But if there is

not eloquence, except sometimes when President Cosgrave or Minister Kevin O'Higgins speaks with sudden passion and power, there is what is worth more in a new Government than eloquence. The leaders are not only men of high and disinterested ideals but they have unusual grasp and power. Being Irish, they have the gift of expression, even if they do not choose to exert eloquence. With their soft, rich voices, mostly touched with the brogue, they make their points with force, urgency and humor. In our Congress, it is said that if a man wins a reputation as a humorist he is appreciated, and can bring members hurrying in from the lounges and corridors, but he cannot hope to be taken very seriously in his work. In the Dail, on the contrary, wit enhances the reputation of a speaker, especially if it does not take the form of a monologue or is not too much elaborated but comes in trenchant flashes. There are times, perhaps, when it makes people wince, as when President Cosgrave called the business men of the country "antique furniture," but in general it is taken in good part.

There are now some five parties in the Dail. There is the Government Party. There is the Farmers' Party, elected on a ticket of economy, with a strong desire to reduce the local taxes from which they suffer heavily. It should have power, since Ireland is 75 per cent. agricultural. On vital questions the Farmers' Party is prepared to support the Government, holding tightly to the treaty. The leaders there are Deputies Wilson, Gorey and Heffernan. There is the Labor Party, in opposition to the Government, criticizing its Administration and policy and economy, opposing the cutting down of wages. Not there will you find James Larkin. He came back from America to find himself wel-



WILLIAM T. COSGRAVE

President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, speaking at an election meeting

—all names that stand for brains. Here you also encounter occasionally a touch of the county family accent. The Independent Party is supposed, in a general way, to represent the business men. Their critics say that they do not look at business from a national angle; that the businesses they are thinking of are those that have been inherited, that go by routine, representing turnovers of perhaps \$6,000 a year; that they have a narrow view in that they are willing to give labor big wages and take the difference out of the buyer. This may be an unjust view; the public speeches made by the Independents certainly show a sense of fairness.

THE "STEPPING STONES"

Finally, there is a new party which is called by some the "Stepping Stones" and by others the National Party. Prominent among its members are Deputies McGrath, McCabe, McCarthy and Milroy. They signed the treaty with the intention of making use of their new-found freedom to acquire further freedom. They think the Government was weak in handling the position with regard to the treaty; that they gave away too much to Great Britain. They think the Government's policy is not advanced enough and that it should show a better understanding of the psychology of people emerging from centuries of revolution. They differed from the Government in the matter of the demobilization of the army, and they believe that the problem of unemployment could be handled better than at present by the immediate initiation of schemes of industrial development. They think the Government has been too slow on the boundary question. They would like to take full advantage of the treaty and exploit it to the hilt in the direction of independence. In short, the National Party appears to consist of not too thoroughly reconstructed republicans.

When we come to consider the outstanding personalities of the new Ireland, we find in President Cosgrave a

come, but without his old power. Times had changed since 1914. He could not change with them, and was presently expelled from his union as a disruptionist. The big man of the Labor Party is Thomas Johnson, an Englishman who has lived in Ireland since he was 11. He defeated not only Larkin but O'Brien also.

The Independent Party is all that its name implies, and is very vocal. Here you find Captain William Redmond, son of the great leader; Deputy Bryan Cooper, once a Unionist and a mellifluous speaker; Deputies Good and Hewit

sound and far-sighted and popular man, handling almost beyond praise his difficult position. But the strongest individual factor in the Dail appears to be Kevin O'Higgins, Vice President of the Executive Council and Minister of Justice. It is thought in some quarters that he will be the next President.

O'Higgins is rigidly honest, careless of popularity, relentless when he feels he must be, reserved yet candid when candor is effective, keen, far sighted, with a brain that works like a perfect machine and with an attractive manner. He is a brown sort of man—brown skinned, brown eyed, clad in well-tailored brown clothes. When he rises to speak the Dail listens, and visitors who don't know who he is presently bend closer, not only because of his quickness in debate, or a touch of passion, or a shining epigram, but because he exudes the breath of an intrinsic power. He is, perforce, a leader. And he is only 32. He studied in the National University, specializing in the law. In 1918 he was

elected a member of the Dail, and did a good deal of work in the secret local Government department with President Cosgrave till he was arrested. That is, his mind was sharpened and his experience enlarged by the dangerous underground work of those days. To O'Higgins is due the credit for organizing the civic guards and the metropolitan police, of which he is still in charge. He was instrumental in reorganizing the judiciary system. To him fell the difficult task of making people, after the lawless period, begin to pay their debts. He went ahead, regardless of danger. For example, certain farmers had a way of letting their cattle graze on other people's estates, refusing either to take them off or to pay. O'Higgins warned them, and then had the cattle seized and sold in Dublin. To him is also due the initiation of the Temperance bill, which aimed at shortening the hours of liquor selling and at preventing shopkeepers from engaging in a mixed trade of groceries and liquors. Again, he took a strong position on the army question in the Spring of 1924. In short, he always takes strong positions, and is not often nagged with failures.

Next to O'Higgins, Thomas Johnson stands out as a strong man, though there are many who would award second place to Deputy McGrath of the "Stepping Stones" or P. J. Hogan, Minister of Agriculture. Both Hogan and Johnson differ from O'Higgins in that they had background for their work. Hogan can look back on the Agricultural Organization Association, which has been doing admirable work for thirty years and more, and on the cooperative creameries initiated by George Russel (the poet AE), and also editor of *The Irish Statesman*. The agricultural population of Ireland is, in the main, educated up to high standards; it does not need to be prodded to achievement.

THE LABOR LEADER

Johnson, who has behind him the well organized Workers' Party; and especially the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, is said to be the



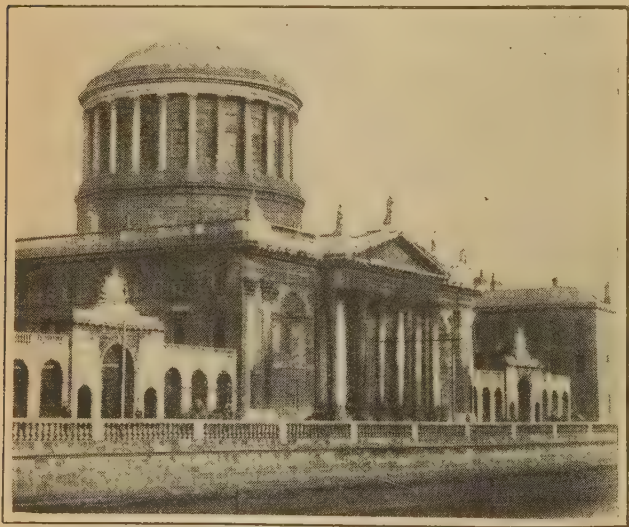
KEVIN O'HIGGINS

Vice President of the Executive Council and
Minister of Justice of the Irish Free State

best parliamentarian in the Dail. He is certainly one of the most industrious, and there cannot be two opinions about his abilities. He never leaves the Dail when it is in session, so important is it that nothing should escape him. There he sits, always in his place on the right-hand side, a short, strongly made man with white hair and a noble, wax-white, vivid face, its expression both idealistic and practical. He looks more like an exponent of muscular Christianity than like a labor leader. He is for labor first, last and always, but, though optimistic, he is not quite so buoyant as he was in 1920, when he used to talk about a workers' republic. He admits now that he does not see much chance for it. There was a time, he says, before the ranks had split, when exaltation and self-sacrifice ruled, when mood and moment seemed one, that there appeared to be a chance for his dream. But the time has passed. Meantime, Johnson thinks his party is no worse off than the Farmers' Party. He is none too well pleased with the present Government, believing that it has been lacking in strength and imagination in dealing with the whole question of reconstruction and employment.

There are other strong men; there is, to repeat, young Mr. Hogan, the Minister of Agriculture, dark, haggard, earnest, literally dying on his feet from overwork. There is Patrick McGilligan, the new Minister of Commerce and Industry, who has a profile that might have been copied from a Roman coin, but he has a Milesian gleam and ardor. There is Professor Magennis of the National University, whose foreign degrees and reputation for high scholarship do not keep him from being a very shrewd legislator. One would like to mention a Deputy who is not a leader but who is the only woman in the Dail, and who has a good head of her own. She is Mrs. Collins O'Driscoll, sister of the late General Michael Collins, wife of a journalist, mother of fourteen children, eleven of them living, and a school teacher when she is not in the Dail. She is plump and motherly, and astute and tactful. I heard her talking to a Deputy whom she had called to order in the Dail. "Ah, now, Mr. —," she said with a smile as alluring as if she had been 18, "you know you were out of order with that motion of yours."

The spectator might think that Ireland could not find better men than these leaders, but this is the comment made upon them by a writer who prefers to be nameless: "They're good men, but so weary that they're just doing intelligent mechanical things. Some day a great leader will arise whom the people will all follow. He'll be an aristocrat. Whenever we Irish have followed a leader he has been an aristocrat. We went after Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet. We never gave a thraheen for the fellow who says: 'Come on. I've got two pence and



The Four Courts, Dublin



DESMOND FITZGERALD
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Irish
Free State

half a brick. Let us go out and kill England. Come on and die with me!" We wanted real authority, and we followed the aristocrat. Democratic trade and aristocratic leadership—that's Ireland. The English are the opposite. Gladstone & Co. were not aristocratic. When our leader arises, you'll see what Ireland will become."

Ireland would seem to have achieved a good deal already under the material at hand. It is said that it took something like twelve or fifteen years for the American treaty of independence to become fully operative. Ireland is going to beat that record, because she cannot afford to wait. Some enthusiasts believe the record is already broken. The United States had the advantage of coming to its governmental problems unwearied, not too much disorganized, and unified. Contrast with that Ireland, with 50,000 dead of the 300,000 she sent to the World War, engaged in a struggle against England before the

truce and treaty; beginning work then in a country without any outward semblance of authority, the police force practically vanished, the army imperfectly trained, the minor courts poorly equipped, the lawless elements making depredations and, on top of all that, the civil war. Think of the Constitution erected and reforms advancing while fighting was going on, families were being severed, friendships ended, and a bitterness aroused, deeper, perhaps, than any aroused by the acts of England.

REORGANIZED JUDICIARY

Perhaps the most far-reaching reform has been the reorganizing of the Irish judiciary. No department of the old order in Ireland injured the country more than the old Department of Justice, described by an English Judge as a mockery, a delusion and a snare. Only a month or two ago the new courts were inaugurated at Dublin Castle, with unostentatious but very impressive dignity. There were troops and police and a procession and a band, a little color and a great deal of deep feeling. For the first time in seven centuries a Chief Justice delivered an address from the bench in Gaelic, "breaking the silence of the Gael," to the effect that Irish courts, "fashioned in freedom by an Oireachtas again assembled," were thrown open to administer justice according to laws made in Ireland by free Irish citizens.

The vital principle of the new scheme is decentralization, devolution of a large amount of jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, upon local courts, sitting almost continuously. Vanished is the old system of County Courts, Resident Magistrates' Courts and unpaid Justices of the Peace. There are two new local courts: the Circuit Court of Justice and the District Court of Justice. The latter, which is the base of the system, comprises thirty-three District Justices, who are taking over the work of the former Magistrates and Justices of the Peace and the minor jurisdiction of the existing County Courts. No one can be ap-

pointed a District Justice who is not a barrister or solicitor of six years' standing.

Before the judiciary was reorganized the national army was whipped into shape. Within a year it became a well organized body. The difficulty came when economy and expediency demanded a large scheme of demobilization; a force of 50,000 had to be reduced to 18,000. Critics of the Government say that the demobilization went by favor, was handled by a clique who saw that their own friends were not put out. The Government says that in spite of the claims which so many officers had for recognition, education and other qualifications had to be taken into consideration as well as pre-truce service. There were four "incidents," involving forty-five out of 1,400 officers. The President did not think the matter should be turned into a political issue, but it was, and two Cabinet Ministers resigned. The consequent inquiry revealed the fact that the real cause of the mutiny was the existence in the army of two secret societies. Evidently the Free State agrees with the opinion England used to hold, that secret societies are the great curse of Ireland, where they are always political. The new rules of the army will doubtless demand that the attestation of all officers and soldiers shall declare against membership in any secret society. Such an attestation is already demanded of the civic guard, one branch of the police force, which carries no weapon but the baton and the regulation cane. This body, which in the first days of the Free State was recruited and trained and dispatched in small groups throughout Ireland to keep order, has relied on the moral support of the people and has been successful in diminishing crime since the people have rallied to them.

One of the earliest achievements of the Free State was the setting up of a fiscal inquiry committee to advise the Government on the economic facts which had to be taken into consideration in framing a fiscal policy suitable to the requirements of Ireland. That the policy

has been wise is shown by the fact that the first loan the Government asked for not long ago of £10,000,000 was over-subscribed in ten days. Another achievement that appeals to farmers, and to peasants who hope to rise into the farmer class, was an act providing for the completion of land purchase, the main result of which is to make every tenant farmer the owner, in fee simple, of his land. But legislative proposals are numerous: There is a seed scheme to safeguard the seed supply for the farmers, a bill to improve the breed of cattle. The act which provides for the better grading of butter and marking of eggs has already made itself felt in an improved market for the products. There is the fisheries act, designed to improve methods of fishing and to restrict the rights of foreign fishermen in Irish waters. There is a grant of £1,000,000 to improve the roads and reduce unemployment. There is a housing bill providing £300,000 for subsidies in building houses. The Local Government Department has inaugurated a central purchasing bureau which will buy and sell to local councils for the benefit of the workhouses. There are scores of plans, from little ones to such an important one as the employment of a foreign engineer who is investigating the electrical power of the River Shannon. It is not unlikely that a way may be found, not too expensive, of thus supplying heat and light for all Ireland.

FINANCIAL RECOVERY

A recent number of *The London Statist* praised the financial recovery of Ireland. Bankers and men of business are agreed that any other loan that has to be called for will be subscribed within the country. Bank reports are healthy, showing increase in profits, diminution in deposits and slight expansion in discounts and advances combined. According to *The London Financial Times*, it appears that, in spite of the difficulties, the volume of business done by Great Britain with the Free State is quite up to the level of that done with Southern Ireland under the old régime. Business

throughout the country is improving. The receipts of the railways are showing a surplus instead of the previous losses. A few new factories are being established. The Board of Trade is soon to publish a monthly journal. It is expecting to arrange trade conventions with foreign Governments. Chambers of Commerce and business men are trying to cooperate with the Government. Nevertheless, the ground is little more than cleared so far as business and industrial expansion are concerned. Rich resources Ireland has — fisheries and mineral wealth and water power—but she has not many factories. Though the country imports far too much, there are, quite aside from the expense, great difficulties to be overcome before industrial expansion can succeed in a country that has not the industrial habit and where the climate induces laziness. For one thing, factory people will have to be trained to know how to work, and they will have to be convinced that they must give up some of their numerous holy days for the good of the country. Everywhere the Government is enforcing vigorous measures of public economy. This has meant heavy taxation.

It has meant the reduction of the salaries of various classes of civil servants. It has meant a certain amount of discontent. A school teacher cannot see why she should have her salary reduced when Timothy Healy, the Governor General of the Free State, receives £10,000 a year.

Many forces, great and small, are working together for the success of the Free State. This year the Dail has subsidized the Tailteann competitions, consisting not only of athletics but of contests in chess-playing, music, storytelling and the like. Music is being revived; the Royal Dublin Society is doing excellent work in chamber music and in engaging a well-known foreign bandmaster to train the Free State Army bands. The literary and artistic groups are active. The Abbey Theatre is better attended than ever, and a new playwright, Shawn O'Casey, has won much praise for his play "Judy and the Paycock."

In general, the majority accept whatever sacrifices they have to make. They know that the Free State has her house in order and that, with their cooperation, the nation is founded on a rock.



College Green and Dame Street, Dublin, with the Bank of Ireland on the right

The Work of Pope Pius XI. as Peacemaker

By JAMES H. RYAN

Professor Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

REVIEWING the first year of the pontificate of Pius XI., Allen Sinclair referred to the Pope as "an enigma to statesmen, a Pope of dominating personality who has disclosed to them just enough of his capacity for dealing bold strokes in world affairs to disconcert them with anxiety as to what he will do next." But after nearly three years it is clear that Pius XI. is no longer an enigma to the world. The successful completion of the many projects to which he has set his hand has made his policies an open book in every European chancellery. He has been uncommonly frank, outspoken and decisive; few Popes have possessed these qualities in a more remarkable degree. Benedict XV. gave statesmen much more cause for worry than Pius XI., who stands four-square for world peace today, as he stood on the day when he was literally catapulted into the Papacy. "The peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ," the motto of his life, is likewise the key that will open the door to an understanding and appreciation of his achievements.

The initial step in the bringing of peace to a distracted world was the blessing of the Roman populace by Pius XI. from the outer loggia of the Basilica of St. Peter on the day of his election. This was no mere diplomatic gesture, but a clear sign to all that he felt deeply for the people of the world. Many diplomats interpreted it as a friendly advance toward the present Government of Italy, an indication that the Vatican was now ready to begin relations with its ancient foe, and that all that was required for the termination of the rupture, which has existed since 1870, was the expressed willingness of the Quirinal to meet the Vatican half

way. That the Pope felt and still feels well disposed toward Italy no one can question. The Roman question, however, is not a matter of feeling. Law, justice and certain fundamental rights enter into the problem, and until these are met in the spirit of justice and fair play, the question will not be settled. Both the Italian Government and the nation understand only too well what factors are involved in a reconciliation with the Vatican.

During the war diplomatic feelers were thrown out to Benedict XV. in an effort to discover what he thought of a resumption of relations with Italy. He had manifested his good will toward his native land in countless ways during the trying days preceding and following upon Italy's entrance into the war. Aware of these profound sentiments on the part of the Pope, the politicians believed that the hour was at hand to come to conclusions with the Vatican. Some even went so far as to suggest the possibility of treaties with foreign countries in order to bring pressure upon Italy to settle once and for all the international position of the Pope. Cardinal Gasparri, the Papal Secretary of State, quickly disillusioned the overanxious gentlemen by reiterating in unmistakable terms the position of the Vatican with reference to the spoliation of the domains of the Pope. "The Holy See," he wrote, "awaits the convenient systematization of its situation, not from foreign arms, but by the triumph of those sentiments of justice which it hopes will spread more and more among the Italian people in conformity with their true interests."

What Cardinal Gasparri stated in 1915 is the position of the Vatican in

1924. Despite the efforts, probably sincere, of the Fascist Government to bring about peace, peace has not followed, for the simple reason that the necessary liberty of the Holy See must be guaranteed as a prerequisite to any and all negotiations. Even before his great coup de théâtre, Mussolini had stated in the Chamber of Deputies that he felt a reconciliation between the Quirinal and the Vatican not only "opportune but logical and inevitable." In the last two years the Italian Napoleon has shown his good-will toward the Church in many ways. Fascist statesmen have made ceremonial calls on Vatican officials; the famous Chigi Library was given by the State as a gift to the Pope; religious instruction has been restored in the schools of the kingdom. All Italy has been delighted with these little events, and the Italian newspapers, with a few anti-clerical exceptions, have approved the new era of good-will which seems to be opening before both sides. Out of all this manoeuvring a rapprochement has not been effected, but one thing certainly has come: anticlericalism is dead in Italy. But before a reconciliation between

the Quirinal and the Vatican takes place a great deal more water must flow under the bridges of Old Father Tiber.

MUSSOLINI'S SUPPORT

Mussolini frankly and openly favors the Church. This he does not because he is a Catholic, but because he understands the historical and international position of the Papacy and is conscious of the value to Italy and to Italians of



POPE PIUS XI.

As he appeared for the first time in the robes of the Supreme Pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church after his election, on Feb. 6, 1922, by the College of Cardinals



CARDINAL PIETRO GASPARRI
Pontifical Secretary of State

the residence in Rome of the Pope, the moral leader of 350,000,000 people, whose influence stretches out to every continent. Cardinal Gasparri, however, is too shrewd a diplomat to put all his eggs in one basket. The Papal Secretary of State knows history, human nature and Italian politics and politicians from a long and intimate association. He will go a long distance in the direction of peace with Italy; he cannot be expected to sacrifice on the altar of political expediency the inalienable rights of his Master and of the Church.

To promote the "Peace of Christ" Pius has bent every energy controlled by the Vatican since the day of his accession to aid in the reconstruction of war-torn Europe. No Pontiff has carried on relief work on such a grand scale as he. The financial resources of the Vatican have been strained again and again to the breaking point in order to assist the unfortunate of the

world. At the very beginning of his administration he was called upon to continue the charity of his predecessor toward Russia. A special relief mission was formed, headed by an American priest, the Rev. Edmund Walsh, S. J., Regent of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. Almost \$5,000,000 was spent by this commission, and at the height of the famine 128,860 persons were being fed daily. A special effort was made by the mission to reach the suffering university professors and students in the stricken districts. Relief was also sent to the Near East, to the refugees of the Smyrna disaster, to the victims of the Japanese earthquake and to the starving children of Central Europe. The last Winter saw over \$1,000,000 worth of food and clothing distributed to the victims of the German famine.

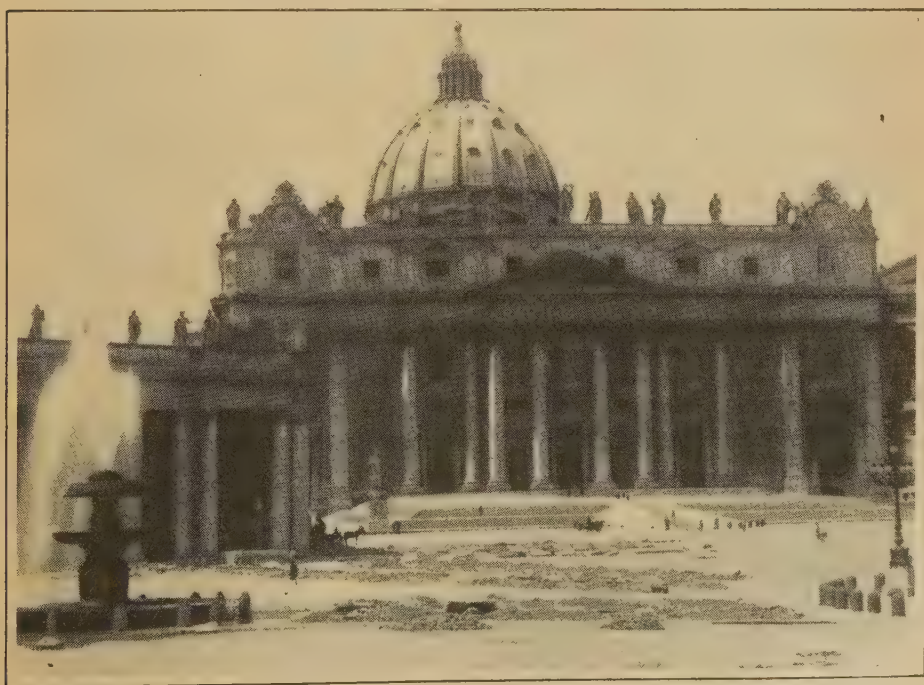
The relief of Russia was purely a mission of charity. It was not a political crusade to rescue Russia from the grip of Bolshevism, nor an entering wedge to bring back to the allegiance of Rome the 150,000,000 members of the Orthodox Church. Much as Pius, like his predecessors Benedict and Leo XIII., wishes to see the Orthodox and Roman Churches united, it need scarcely be emphasized that he did not hope to buy back Russian souls by giving away Catholic bread. The attitude of the present rulers of Russia toward all religions, the Catholic Church included, is too well known in Rome for such a vain hope to be held. Bolshevik Russia has proscribed Catholicism, confiscated its churches and property, imprisoned its priests and murdered one of its leading spirits, Mgr. Butkiewicz. Archbishop Cepliak, the head of the Roman Catholic Church, has only recently been released from a Soviet prison, a broken man. All this happened at the very height of the famine. Did the Vatican withdraw its relief mission as a protest against the intolerance and inhuman practices of the Soviets? On the contrary, it "intensified," in the words of the official *Osservatore Romano*, "its generous efforts toward a stricken peo-

ple, remembering the noble Christian motto which is our great source of strength, to repay evil with good."

FRENCH ANTI-CLERICALISM

The close relations between the Vatican and France, begun during the war and solidified by the reception of a papal nuncio, Mgr. Bonaventure Cerretti, at Paris in 1921, are again at the breaking point. The war made a considerable dent in the anti-clerical forces of France. A religious revival followed in the wake of the destruction which menaced the French people. France began to see clearly once again after its orgies of secularism during the Presidency of Combes, and the demand for a resumption of relations with the Vatican in 1921 was practically nationwide. During the early days of the pontificate of Pius XI, the trying question of the French laws of 1905, the so-called "lois cultuelles," which banished religious congregations from the repub-

lic, sequestered Church property and generally hampered the exercise of the spiritual authority of the Bishops, was brought up for solution. France was not ready to return to the Concordat which had been in force before 1905. Rome would not accept the "lois cultuelles." A compromise proposal was made and agreed to by both sides, the principal provisions of which were that diocesan associations for the legal holding of Church property were to be organized under French law, but in every case the Bishop was to be the president of such association and its headquarters his residence. The function of the diocesan association was to be regulated in conformity both with civil and canon law and no interference of any kind on the part of the association was to be allowed either in the conduct of divine service or in the appointment of parish priests. The new diocesan associations confirmed in principle everything for which the French hierarchy and the



United

St. Peter's, Rome. The pavement in the foreground is being restored for the coming Holy Year

Holy See have contended since the days of the break under Pius X.

From 1922 until Herriot became Premier the friendship between the Papacy and France had grown steadily. Despite the angry denunciations by Poincaré of the present Pope's letter with regard to the Ruhr, there has been no indication of a lessening of good feeling on either side. The prospects for a complete and satisfactory understanding for the perpetuation of the "sacred union," however, received a severe blow at the recent French elections. With the defeat of Poincaré and his Bloc National, and the ousting of Millebrand from the Presidency of the republic, there entered upon the scene one who is committed to anti-clericalism. Herriot in his first Ministerial speech declared war on the Church, announcing that the embassy at the Vatican was to be discontinued and that the laws proscribing religious congregations were to be rigorously enforced. Whether this was a mere gesture on the part of the Prime Minister to satisfy his supporters of the extreme Left or a matter of settled policy cannot be stated with certainty. Herriot's speech created consternation in French Catholic circles, where it was seen as likely to create once again the atmosphere of strife which poisoned all public life during the stormy days of Combes and Briand. French Catholics could not imagine any sane Government desiring to restore such conditions, especially at a time when France needed every ounce of good-will throughout the world to carry on her work of national reconstruction.

It is particularly from the side of the "redeemed Provinces" of Alsace and Lorraine that the most serious opposition to the threatened secularization will come. These Provinces are overwhelmingly Catholic, and militantly so. Though glad to be redeemed and brought back under the protection of the Tricolor, they do not intend to remain supine under the threats of Herriot and the politicians of the Left Bloc to deprive them of their religious freedom. Protest after protest has already

been sent to the Government in Paris. In one week over fifty mass meetings were held at which fiery addresses were given, recalling the promises made by Poincaré in 1918 and the solemn obligations taken by Marshal Joffre in the presence of the allied Ambassadors respecting these provinces' religious status.

The Vatican has expressed no concern at the new turn of affairs. It is fully conscious of the strength of its position, behind which stand the moral forces of the republic, as well as Catholic opinion the world over. Cool-headed thinkers in France accept the judgment of M. Jonnart, former Ambassador to the Vatican, who is by no means a clerical, that it is of the highest importance to French interests to maintain the status quo.

RUHR INTERVENTION

The situation in Germany during the early months of 1923 menaced the peace of the world. The French invasion of the Ruhr had aroused the German people to a high pitch of fury and they responded to the French threats by passive resistance and sabotage, so that a new war seemed inevitable. The Vatican had been kept well informed by a special investigator, who had been sent right into the Ruhr district. So serious were his reports that the Holy See decided to act quickly. The Pope, therefore, wrote an open letter to Cardinal Gasparri in which he urged strongly a reopening of the whole problem of reparations in the interests of justice and world peace. The principles upon which the new plan was to be founded were those of equity and good-will. An impartial judgment was asked for on the capacity of Germany to meet her treaty obligations and, in the meantime, occupation of the Ruhr was to be "gradually reduced until it ceased, and at last real pacification and the economic restoration so ardently desired by all could be attained." The Pope likewise condemned in no uncertain terms the acts of sabotage and other crimes com-

mitted by the Germans in the name of passive resistance. Germany received the Papal letter with expressions of pleasure and promised a cessation of all kinds of resistance. France, on the other hand, went into a rage. Poincaré publicly rebuked the Pope. The French, however, after the first show of resentment, have seen the light and have accepted as the way out of their difficulties the solution suggested by the Pope.

The position of the Pope toward the League of Nations is one of acknowledgment of its great possibilities for peace and of sincere cooperation with its plans whenever possible. For example, he appealed to the League in the Palestine case, and a decision was rendered along the lines he suggested. Since 1920 the question has been mooted whether it would not be in the interests of the League to invite a Papal representation at its council tables. Professor Urquhart of Baliol College, Oxford, has stated that the League is most anxious for a close connection with the Catholic Church, because the League needs, above everything else, moral force, and the Church is the greatest moral force working in the direction of world peace. If the Pope were invited and could send a nuncio to represent him, serving on certain committees in much the same way as representatives of the United States but not participating in the deliberations of the League as a member compelled under certain circumstances to use aggression to enforce the promises made by nations, great good might result. English public opinion would favor asking the Pope to serve. Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League, has stated publicly that he approves the suggestion.

The relations of the Papacy under Pius to other countries of Europe and to America have not been spectacular, but they have been fraught with great possibilities for good. England maintains, in spite of the "die-hards," her embassy at the Vatican, and the British sovereigns paid a ceremonial visit last

year, to the Pope. The King of Spain, too, has called on him.

INTEREST IN AMERICA

The Pope has taken a deep personal interest in American affairs and in the world influence of the United States. He appreciates only too well, as one who possesses the remarkable sources of information which all acknowledge the Vatican to have, that without American aid his plan for world peace can scarcely be realized. He has, therefore, turned again and again to America and has let it be known on all sides that he expects this country to take the lead in bringing about peace. This appreciation of the leadership which the United States holds in matters affecting the whole course of modern civilization has begotten in the Pope a real and lasting affection for our people, who have responded so generously to his every call upon us.

Historians will judge the pontificate of Pius XI. by the success of his efforts to promote the reign of peace among nations. That he has not been unsuccessful is due to the fact that he has not set before himself as a goal the unattainable, neither has he preached a doctrine of false pacifism. The Pope abhors no less the militarism which sees in war an end in itself than the opposite extreme which condemns all wars as unlawful. Between a rank nationalism and the outlawry of all war, a doctrine which claims to represent the very essence of Christian belief, he has taken the middle course, which concedes to every nation the right of defending itself, yet calls upon all men not to go to war except as a last resort. The Pope knows only too well that peace will not come by resolutions, by treaties nor by declarations made by the Churches that every war should be outlawed as a crime. "I speak of peace," he wrote in his most recent letter establishing 1925 as the Holy Year, "not of peace written in treaties, but peace written on hearts, which must be restored among the peoples."

China's Educational Awakening

By ANDREW R. BOONE

Director of Academic Publicity, Stanford University

CONFUCIUS, after naming a long list of virtues relating to human conduct, is reported to have said: "If one has time after perfecting himself in these virtues, he can now study literature." In varying degrees, this has been official China's attitude toward education during the centuries. To the mass of Chinese education was forbidden; it was desired as an ornament by one limited class, but the people generally were not introduced to its awakening influences. During the last few years, however, despite general internal disorders, political darkness and little governmental support of public institutions, China's dormant intellect has been aroused, and the ponderous nation, slow to act, now promises to take a place second to few in application of scientific methods of education to the bulk of her population.

China's educational history, contrary to our conception of her failure to keep pace with Western civilization, has been fairly stable. There are high spots and low spots, but the trend has been steady toward greater freedom in her system of imparting knowledge and training the young Chinese intellect, until now these four progressive steps are to be noted as bearing special significance in the Chinese intellectual awakening:

1. China is adopting compulsory education.
2. A movement gains ground to popularize the spoken Chinese language and to replace the present written Chinese with the spoken language, which will simplify communications and enable a larger portion to learn to read and write.
3. The schools are being socialized.
4. Vocational guidance takes an important place in the educational system.

The old aim of education in China

was culture of the individual. Thus the typical scholar received his "education" primarily for his own benefit, and he became a class quite distinct from the farmer, the laborer and the business man—the "unlearned" classes. This selfish conception of benefit to the individual as the primary purpose of mind-training became deep rooted until now the primary problem faced by Chinese and American educational leaders in China concerns the adjustment of education to the practical needs of the people.

Although education has suffered in China, instruction has long been announced as a function of government. Records indicate that in 2000 B. C. the Central Government maintained an officer who "administered learning" after a fashion. Since that date education has played some part in the Government programs, and a system of teaching from the university down has been maintained. Elementary schools, entrusted to local administrators, were generally badly managed, but the institutions of university grade were usually carefully kept. Most important men of the State encouraged higher education, since they were drawn from the intellectual aristocracy. Utility occupied the least important place among the values of subjects as taught by the ancient educators. The utilitarians now have their say, and China has responded to their influence and teachings by increasing to an astonishing degree both the numbers of students and the numbers of school buildings.

Fourteen years ago China boasted 52,650 schools, with 1,625,534 students. Five years later the schools had increased to 129,739, and the students of

all grades to 4,294,251. The growth continued at a slower pace during the ensuing five years, and in 1920 there were 134,000 schools, with a student population of 4,500,000. But witness the period 1921-23. The Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education reports that there were at the end of last year 178,981 schools in the great republic, with 6,619,792 students. This is no insignificant increase in a three-year endeavor to enlist young China in education. Yet the numerical increase is by no means the most significant fact of the new awakening.

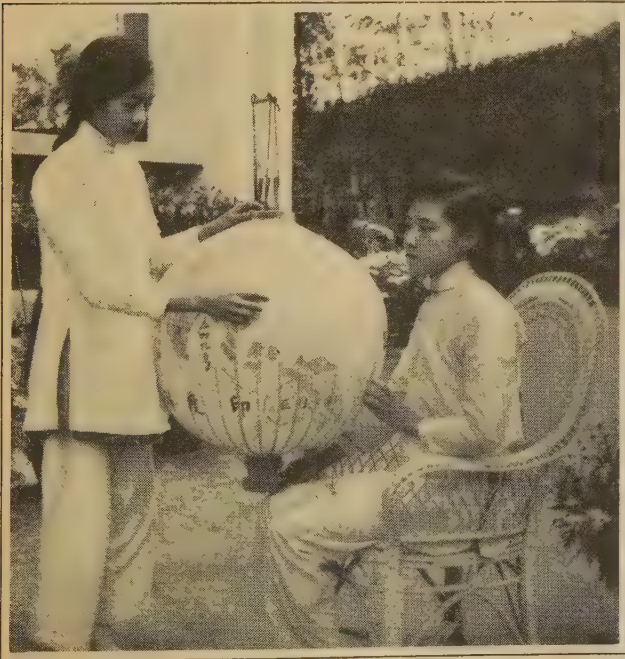
AMERICAN GUIDANCE

Of more importance to the future of Eastern education are the higher standards, inculcated almost wholly through American teachers and Chinese trained in American universities and colleges, and their application of new teaching methods. As one Chinese student at an American university expressed it, "today education is largely in the hands

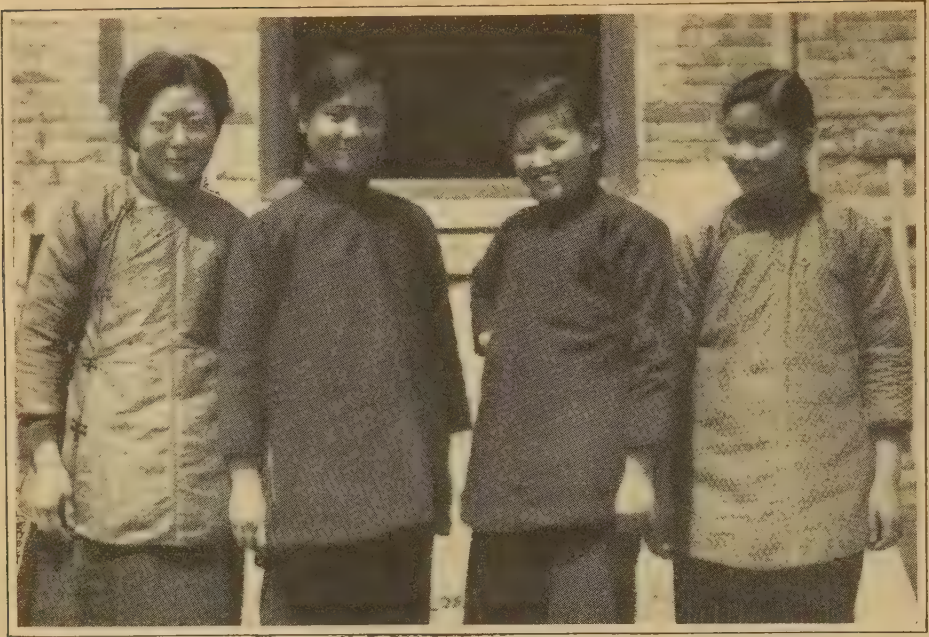
of specialists, trained teachers and departmental experts. Some of our [Chinese] educational leaders, especially those in the National University and Teachers' College at Peking, and National Southeastern University at Nanking, are working intensely in creating an educational policy and experimenting with principles and practices founded on modern educational philosophy on the one hand and the best traditions of Chinese culture on the other." They are, moreover, proceeding "on sound principles. As a basic substructure for the future system, whatever it may be eventually, a steady stream of Chinese students comes to the United States to study in the higher institutions and to take American methods and ideals home with them to pass on to the yet younger generation.

The American missionary in China was responsible for the first students coming for American training. Then the United States Government in 1908 gave the student movement its necessary

backing by returning \$10,785,286 of the indemnity paid for damage done by the Boxer uprisings. This led the Chinese Government to establish Tsing Hua College in Peking, which today is the chief liaison institution preparing young Chinese for study here. Three hundred students were supported by Tsing Hua College in the United States last year. Chinese students in the United States totaled 1,637 for the academic year at a close. Of these, 662 came on scholarships provided by their own Government, while 1,075 are reported as self-supporting. The majority of the self-sustaining students,



Globe made by Chinese girl students at an American mission school at Foochow



Ewing Galloway

Chinese schoolgirls

which includes all those provided for by sources other than their Government, came from China. Nearly all the Chinese students in this country expect to return there for educational or governmental service after they receive higher degrees here.

The Chinese students in the United States have an organization known as the Chinese Students' Alliance in the United States of America, formed at San Francisco in 1902 by twenty-three students from Berkeley, Oakland and San Francisco. The alliance extended the next year to the midwest, particularly Chicago; in 1904 to Cornell University and vicinity, and a year later to the Eastern States generally. It extended gradually until 1911, when a national committee was elected, since when the alliance has functioned as a national society to "labor for the general welfare of China, both at home and abroad, and to promote the common interests of Chinese students" in the United States. The range of the students' interests runs the

gamut from accounting to zoology. Automobile engineering, claiming 98, has attracted the largest single group, while education with 84, mechanical engineering and civil engineering, each with 70, chemistry with 69, commerce with 62, electrical engineering with 58 and economics with 53 students are popular in that order. Three are enrolled in military science, while one lone student studies drama and one motion-picture photography. Progress in China keeps pace with the growth of the student organization in this country. It is true that China has been very dark politically, but her interest in education cannot be measured by her haphazard political experiments. As a matter of unvarnished fact, her greatest efforts of organization are being expended on popular and compulsory education.

Beginnings of compulsory attendance at school are already noted in some of the more progressive provinces. In Shensi, some 80 per cent. of children of school age attend during the year. Other

provinces are endeavoring to comply with an order issued by the Ministry of Education in 1920 which declares that education shall be required, first in every provincial capital, then in districts, then in localities. Under that order all children must attend school four years and, if local conditions are favorable, for two years more. In addition to the provisions for children, public lectures, public libraries and museums, open-air and half-day school and reading rooms are being organized, to take care of and coax the great mass of illiterates to a desire for at least a little book learning. These agencies gradually find their way into the small villages in the nation-wide movement. The Government, students and business men join in providing means for the extensions. Chinese students in America say that the so-called student movement has been a strong stimulant in this direction.

Toward popularizing education, the movement known as the Literary Revolution, started in 1917 by a group of men now in the National University at Peking, is said to have contributed a large measure of the success to date. This movement has as its one great aim popularization of the spoken Chinese language in written form, to make the present spoken language the standard for print. The present Chinese written language is separate and distinct from that used in conversation; the former is classical, and one who desires to use it with proficiency must spend many years of study before learning all its characters. Another difficulty is noted in the difference which appears in the spoken language in different parts of the country. Clearly it is impossible for the layman to learn both with any considerable success, and thus the endeavor to remove the necessity of mastering the present written language. Already the use of the spoken language in both reading and writing, and the adoption of what is known as the national phonetic script, have simplified the problem of extending education, and they explain, in part, the progress of the last few years.

Perhaps the tendency more easily

recognized than any other in Chinese education is the gradual socialization of the schools. The old system consisted solely of teaching a cut-and-dried book lesson to the student, which he took home and applied as best he might. Neither cooperation of instructor and pupil nor association between teacher and student played any part in the curriculum. Obviously, American leadership has been followed in this development. Education, instead of being a personal adornment, a luxury, takes its place as a social necessity, recognized as the chief safeguard of national unity and ultimate national salvation. The term "social service" seems best to define the new idea in China of education, replacing the thought of individual culture. Student self-government, instituted with marked success in many American institutions, provides one of the best means of fixing this idea firmly in the Chinese mind. The students temporarily within our shores recognize its efficacy in training their brothers in obligations other than to self and in instilling in them a "mass consciousness." Add to this a provision for female education and you have the beginnings of a new race consciousness.

CRITICAL FOLLOWERS

With all these changes China proceeds in a critical mood, with a scientific mind. She has copied the West long enough. Now she wishes to learn from the West, but not to adopt Western institutions without a thoughtful consideration of them before adoption. An important step in this direction was taken when Dr. McCall of Columbia University, New York, crossed the Pacific to direct psychological research for the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education. Under his direction approximately 100 intelligence and educational tests of various kinds, modeled after tests in vogue in this country, have been given, ostensibly with success.

A Chinese student of psychology who has been attending American universities for five years, and who, like others,

expects to return to China in another year to become a cog in the machine, puts forward the view that vocational guidance will prove of greater benefit than any of the secondary steps taken since universal education was decided upon:

Vocational guidance was not introduced into China when the new system was first adopted. Although the Government established some technical schools, very few people attended them. Most of our well-to-do people sent their children after they had graduated from primary schools to middle schools in the hope that they might later get professional training in colleges and universities. This attitude has been changed since the advent of the republic.

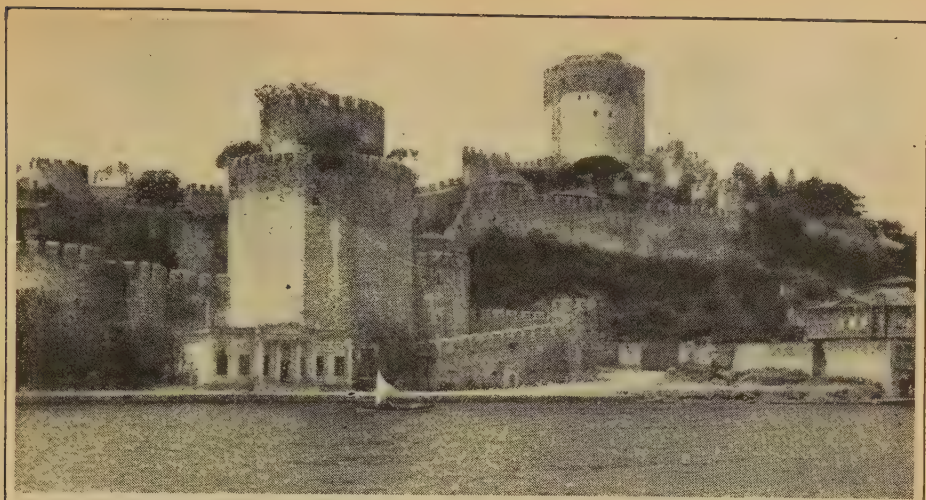
Our people have come to realize that if they would solve social, economic and educational problems in such a big country as China, education must be made practical. A movement of "practical education" was started by a group of prominent educators in China, and in 1915 and 1916 the demand for practical education was so strong that a number of committees were sent to the United States, the Philippines and Japan. Several societies dealing with vocational problems were organized. In a union meeting of educational associations of different provinces a resolution recommending that vocational courses be included in the middle schools was passed. Many normal schools opened teachers' courses in vocational training. Manual training was introduced in elementary schools. A series of books on the subject was published by the Educational Association of Kiang Su Province. By the Spring of 1907 the climax of this movement was reached when the National Association for Vocational Education was organized.

Dr. Huang Yen-pi, who first saw the weakness of our old education in its separation of mental training from every-day living, was instrumental in founding the first vocational school in China at Shanghai. Courses in machine shop work, carpentry, iron work and commerce are taught there now. This school at Shanghai, now in operation six years, is the model for several others similarly conducted. Vocational education was given an impetus in 1921, and during the last three years the vocational schools have increased from 719 to 1,500. Would not one think these figures indicate that vocational education will play an important part in the scheme of Chinese education?

Whether vocational guidance will

shape the careers of countless thousands of young Chinese remains for the future to bring out. It is a debated question in some American circles whether it bears the true value ascribed to it by leading educators, though it is generally agreed to be an invaluable part of the system. In addition to this important phase, two other tendencies must be noted. China is going in for physical education, including intercollegiate athletics and co-education. There is a broad gap between the old notion that education was to be had from books and books alone, and the new notion that a well-educated person is a product of books plus environment.

Before China and the Occident established intercourse, Chinese education was nothing more nor less than a knowledge of literature. Any papers written by candidates for high office must be very conventional and bear no free interpretation of the particular subject by the writer. Even the handwriting was required to be perfect to the slightest detail. If a trivial error appeared, the candidate would be ignominiously rejected, regardless of the merit of his thesis. It is from such intellectual bondage as this that we see the new China emerge. Nor is the training of the intellect emphasized to the neglect of the body. Foreign games are being taught the students. Intercollegiate matches in football, basketball, tennis and other forms of contest for physical supremacy are not at all uncommon. Physical education has become a part of regular college courses and in a few institutions instructors in this branch are being trained for distribution among the smaller colleges and elementary schools. Women have been admitted to the classroom alongside male students for several years now. This alone is helping to break down the old barriers which prejudiced official male China against woman. China's minds and bodies will not henceforth be consumed in purposeless and exacting tasks. The educated Chinese of tomorrow or the day after will have received the best training America can offer.



Ewing Galloway

Roumeli Hissar, the old citadel of Turkey in Europe, as seen from the Bosphorus

The Turkish Straits Under International Control

By GEORGE A. SCHREINER

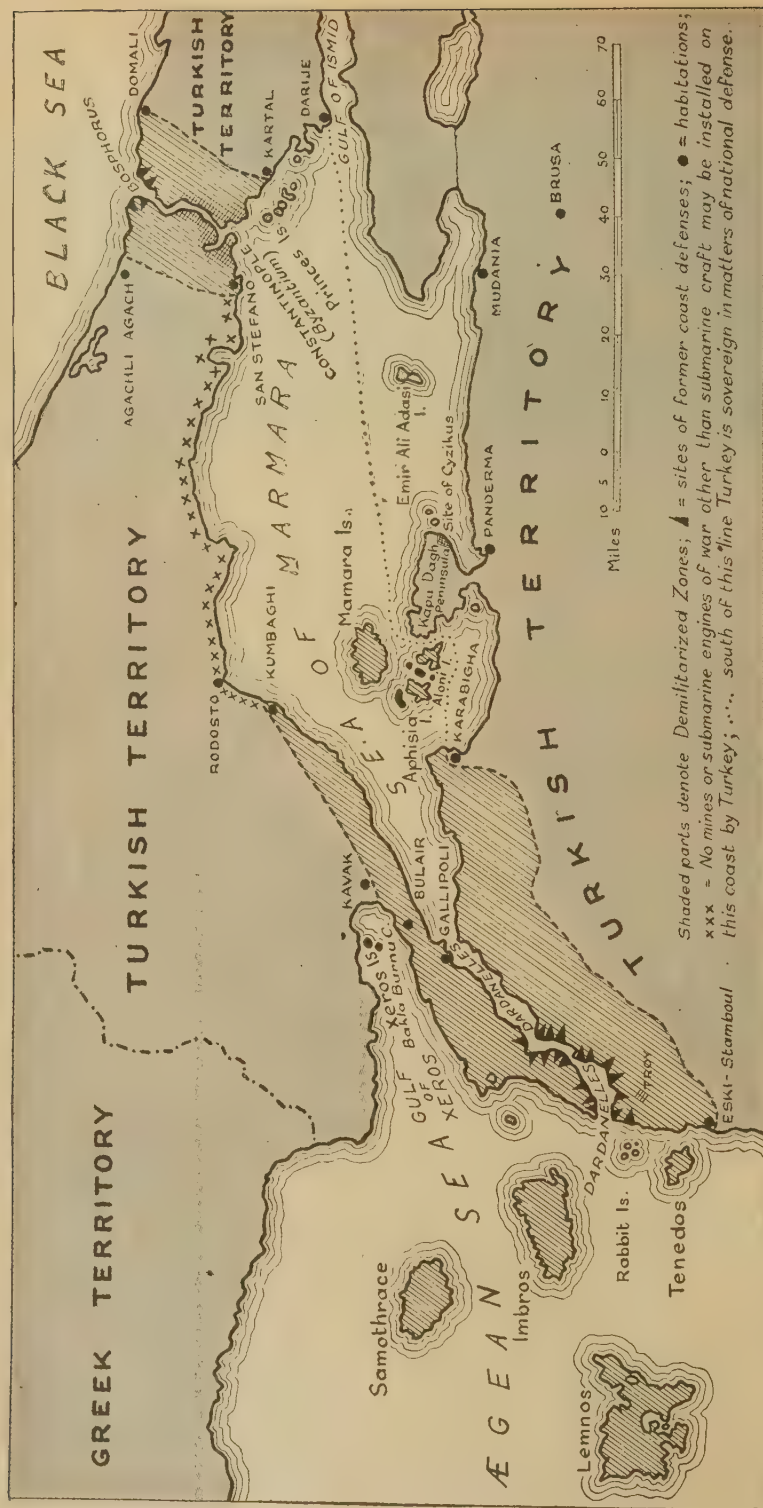
Author of "From Berlin to Bagdad," "The Iron Ration," and Other Books;
Co-author With de Siebert of "Entente Diplomacy and the World"; Formerly
Associated Press Correspondent at Constantinople.

AMONG the problems tackled a year ago by the Lausanne Conference under the aegis of the League of Nations was the prolific source of trouble known as the Turkish Straits—the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Considered by itself, the case of these waterways was a matter of Turkey claiming them as territorial waters and Russia questioning this—without good reason so far as international law and several special treaties determined the case.

The Turkish Government clung to the view that the narrow inlet of the Bosphorus as well as the narrow mouth of the Dardanelles lay well within the universally accepted three-mile limit. Basing its position on this fact and the treaty consent of the powers, the Turk-

ish Government opened and closed the straits at will to foreign merchant ships. Ships of war could navigate the Dardanelles and Bosphorus only upon express permission of the Turkish Government at any time, and for decades the Sublime Porte had to get the permission of the great powers before it could allow a non-Turkish warship to navigate the straits. Normally merchant vessels had no difficulty navigating the straits, though irksome and unnecessary regulations were not wanting.

It was not Russia's merchant marine that suffered from Turkey's control of the straits, except when Turkey was at war—which was often enough in recent times. What chagrined Russia was the fact that her Black Sea war fleet could not be taken through the straits and



Map of the Turkish Straits specially drawn to illustrate the new status created by the convention which was signed as part of the settlement reached between Turkey and the Allies at the second Lausanne Conference in July, 1923

put to other uses than lying idly in some port. Moreover, the Russian ports on the Baltic were ice-bound for several months each year, and at the outlet of the Baltic was the "neck of a bottle" near which some enemy fleet might lurk to put a swift end to a Russian armada. Strategically, then, the Russian naval forces were badly handicapped at a time when Germany's navy was growing and the Russo-German relations left more and more room for improvement.

For many decades Great Britain had held the rôle of traditional enemy to Russia. There was much friction between the two empires and every instance of it was felt at the straits. To keep the Russian Black Sea fleet bottled up was considered the prime duty of every British Foreign Minister, and to drive the thin edge of the wedge into the time-honored status of the straits was religion with every Russian statesman. This was a case in which no precedent could be allowed. Once a Russian naval force had descended the straits, it would do so again, in which event Great Britain saw her control of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Suez Canal and the route to the East threatened. Nor was this merely the picture of the devil. The fact is that the Black Sea was then, and still may be, though conditions have changed somewhat, the finest naval base in the world. If the straits had been "opened," and with them the Black Sea, that would have been an incentive to Russia to do what British statesmen feared she would do. There was little glory in building on the Black Sea a fleet to be bottled up, but much in creating a great armada for the open oceans beyond the Dardanelles, as would have happened if the Black Sea had been made a Russian naval base for the Mediterranean. The men who met at Lausanne from January to July, 1923, were not in ignorance of this, and thus we find that the Convention on the Straits is not without its echoes of what was once the nightmare of British diplomats.

A short survey of the history of the straits is not amiss here. From the

shores of these waters come the classic epics of the Hellenes and Romans. Near the mouth of the Dardanelles, then the Hellespont, sat Troy. Somewhere about the time that Troy fell, Greek colonists planted themselves along the shores of the straits, among other places at what is now Constantinople (660 B. C.), and, what was a city of equal importance, Cyzikus, now merely a site strewn with cut rock. Opposite Constantinople, then Byzantium, there was a custom house in which tolls were exacted from ships coming down or going up the Bosphorus. For many years thereafter the straits became the scene of many a furious battle between the ships of Athens and Sparta and Greek colonies in Phrygia Minor, all of them aiming at the mastery of the straits. Cyzikus finally vanished and left Byzantium sole mistress of the straits. As yet the straits were really too much water for the small craft then used. The Sea of Marmora was a veritable ocean on which piracy could flourish undismayed, so that at night huge chains were stretched across the bay back of the city, now known as the Golden Horn, to protect the merchant galleys and schooners that lay there. As the number of oars in a bank, and the banks themselves, increased, and as the spread of sail grew, the straits, figuratively, diminished in size, as did the Marmora. Commerce grew and so did rivalry among the Greek city republics and the nations of the then civilized world. In 194 A. D. Byzantium was taken by the Romans and renamed Antonia. In 330 A. D. the city became Nova Roma and the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, its population then being more than 500,000. Although Nova Roma, now Constantinople, could control the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles could not be brought under the city's authority.

THE DARDANELLES IN HISTORY

The Dardanelles, or Hellespont, has a story of its own, beginning with the days when the city on the Golden Horn made crossing the Ford of Io, or Bos-



The Golden Horn, Constantinople, as seen from the Eyoub Cemetery

porus, unpleasant business for raiders, migratory hordes and such. Those who now wanted to cross from Asia Minor into Europe, or vice versa, had to do so at the Hellespont narrows, known as the Heptastadion Ford, at Cape Nagara, between the cities of Abydos and Sestos. With Troy, Dardanos and Cyzikus no longer in existence, and with Byzantium's navy and fleet far away, as distances then went, crossing the ford was simple enough. That way, then, the Persians came and retreated; over the same route the Romans advanced and fell back. The status of the Dardanelles in those days, as ever since, depended entirely upon "international" relations. If foreign aggressors could be kept off, the straits were "territorial" waters. If not, they were "internationalized." In all this the means of utilizing the straits for trading purposes and those needed to defend them played the primary rôle. These means were of short range, and the community that

used them remained a typically Greek city republic—narrow and parochial; for that is all Byzantium ever was. The Persian raiders taught Byzantium and the Greeks at least one lesson. After having been narrowly saved by Pausanias, the Byzantines and the Hellenes of Thrace deemed it best to throw a great wall across the Isthmus of Bulair. This was done, and on its site have since then been located fortifications of one sort or another, no matter who was master in Constantinople. This is important, in view of the "demilitarization" of the straits zone 2,300 years later by the Lausanne conference.

The Byzantine emperors did their best to "territorialize" the straits. They succeeded so long as they held the shores of the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmora and Bosphorus, but there was then no effective way of closing even these narrow channels. While Saracene raiders molested the settlements along the Dardanelles, Russian raiders, as in 860 and 1048 A. D., sailed into the Bosphorus and disturbed the capital itself. Constantinople's defenses on both water and land had to be considerably augmented; more chains were hung across the Golden Horn; and walls that excite admiration even today were added to the city's defense scheme on land. In 1203 Constantinople was taken by the Crusaders and subjected to three days of sack and carnage. Thus, the most Christian State in existence was reduced to beggary and its splendid capital, Constantinople, saw its population reduced to less than 100,000, living in misery, but carrying on their political warfare as before. In 1354 the

Osmanli crossed the Dardanelles at the Heptastadion ford. The Byzantine State had lost one territory after another to this Turanian horde and was too weak to prevent the crossing. Constantinople, however, still enjoyed the protection of its old walls and chain barrages, so that the Turks deemed it best to first occupy the hinterland of the city, which they did as far as the banks of the Danube and beyond. In 1411 the city was besieged by the Turks, but withstood the onslaught successfully. Eleven years later the Byzantine Government agreed to pay a yearly tribute to the Turks. In 1453 Constantinople was taken, for meanwhile gunpowder had been invented, and with it artillery.

As the Byzantine State declined, Genoese and Venetian merchants pushed deeper and deeper into its vitals. They were already in possession of the peninsula and city of Gallipoli. Here they had wrung special concessions—the original “capitulations”—from the Government of Constantinople. The day came on which the Italians established their banks, warehouses and quays in the very shadow of the walls of Constantinople. Before long they had a fortress on the crest of a hill on what are now Galata and Pera. As the Byzantine Government deteriorated the pretensions of Genoa and Venice, then masters of the Mediterranean, increased. The coming of the Turk put an end to this. So long as the Osmanli were strong they were masters of the straits and their new capital. Fortifications were erected at the entrance to the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Their magnificent remains are still visible at Sid-il-Pahr, Tchanak Kaleh, Kilid-il-Bahr, Fener and other points, as are the great bronze guns installed by Grand Vizier Mahmed Koprulue. The straits were closed, and for many years none dared enter them against the sovereign wish of the Turkish Government. But other times came. Turkey was gradually driven out of the Balkans. Each reverse on the field of battle left her weaker; and the weaker

she grew the more corrupt and incompetent became her Government. Thus came the day when the Powers imposed upon Turkey “capitulations” of the same sort as the Byzantine Government had been forced to grant to Genoa and Venice.

RUSSIA'S OBJECTIVE

Russia wanted “a window upon the sea”; she also wanted to make Constantinople, known to the Russian people as Czarigrad—the emperor city—her real capital. With the great metropolis on the Golden Horn Russia was connected by religious tradition. Hagia Sofia, principal mosque in Turkey, was in the days of the Byzantine Empire the chief citadel of the Greek Orthodox faith. Several wars came out of Russia's aims—wars that were fought to keep the Turkish straits Ottoman territorial waters and thus prevent Russia from getting a foothold in the Mediterranean. To foreign ships of war the straits remained closed for almost three centuries. The Turk did not like to see them before his capital, in the heart of his empire, and the powers that ruled in the Mediterranean wanted to keep the Russian fleet out of their special bailiwick. The few exceptions to this rule tend merely to accentuate these facts. Seven Russian vessels entered the Dardanelles in 1770, but got no further than Kefes Burnu. In 1807 a British fleet under Admiral Duckworth anchored before Constantinople, but withdrew after thus demonstrating that the straits could be forced. In 1853, at the outbreak of the Crimean War, a fleet of British and French ships anchored near the Turkish capital to protect it against the Russians, and a British fleet did the same in 1878 when Czar Alexander II. was “liberating” the Balkan Slavs but had Czarigrad as his real objective.

Following the incursion by Admiral Duckworth, the status of the straits as Turkish territorial waters was reaffirmed by treaty and all non-Ottoman warships were barred from the straits. From that time on the straits formed a

distinct and separate item in Europe's foreign affairs. It was conceded that the three-mile limit ought to apply, and that the Sublime Porte, therefore, could determine who was to use the straits and who was not and when they were to be open and when closed. Turkey consented readily that no warships of any nation, save her own, should be admitted to the straits, and she undertook to fortify the waterways accordingly. About 1835, and again in 1864, most of the artillery emplacements that figured in the bombardments of April 18, 1912, (Italian fleet), and of November, 1914, and March, 1915 (British and French), were laid down and equipped. Much of the engineering was done by Frenchmen; most of the armament came from France and later from Germany. To the British, as their share in the scheme, was left much of the administration of the Turkish navy, and under Admiral Limpus the coast batteries even passed into the control of the British naval mission to Turkey.

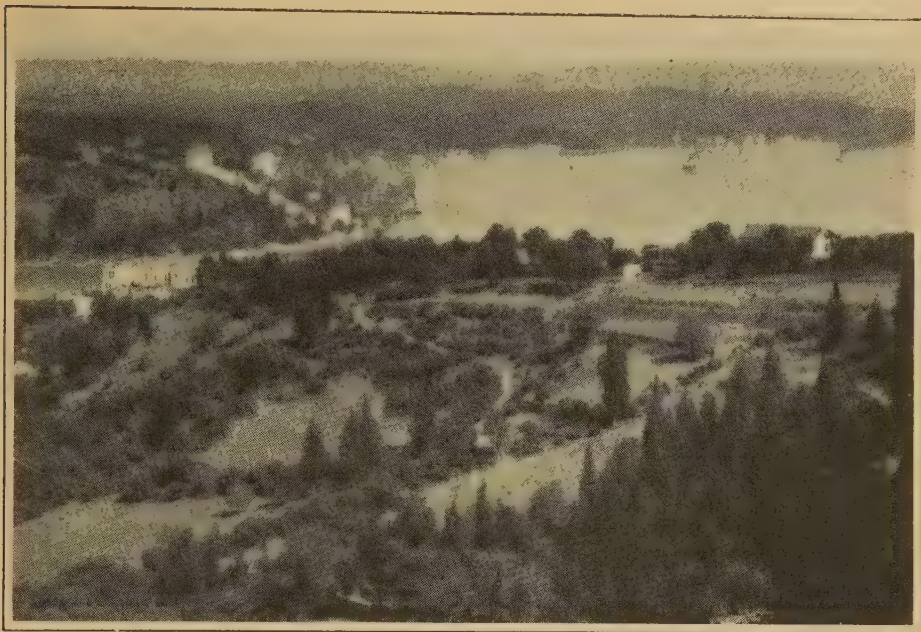
Russia, undaunted by her reverses in diplomacy and war, continued her efforts to "internationalize" the straits. In addition to losing wars waged for this purpose she was defeated at virtually every "conference" held in relation to the straits, as shown by the Hunkiar-Iskelessi treaty of 1833, made between Russia and Turkey; the Dardanelles treaty of 1841, the Paris Dardanelles convention of 1856, the London protocol of 1871 and the Berlin convention of 1878. In November of 1912 Turkey was induced to admit to the straits an armored cruiser from each world power, among them the United States cruiser *Scorpion*. The purpose of this was to protect the foreigners in and near Constantinople. A little later it was agreed that these "stationnaires" should remain in the straits permanently under the "capitulations." When the débâcle overtook Turkey and her allies in 1918, interallied naval and military forces occupied the straits and Constantinople. The régime then set up at the straits terminated with the Peace Treaty of Lausanne, signed July 25, 1923.

The status of the Turkish straits in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the World War is best shown by the official correspondence on that subject included in the documents from the Russian secret archives, published in the United States under the title of "Entente Diplomacy and the World," by de Siebert and the present writer. One of these documents shows that on April 30, 1912, Count Benckendorff, Russian Ambassador to Great Britain, wired to M. Sazonov, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, as follows:

After I learned from the newspapers that the Turkish Government refuses to open the straits I drew Grey's particular attention to what this refusal meant to Russia. I told him the Russian Government could not permit the present state of affairs to continue; public opinion in Russia would not concern itself with the responsibility of Turkey or Italy, nor with any treaty rights, but would simply and unanimously demand that the straits be reopened to Russian trade, and the Government would certainly have to yield. I further said that at the present moment it was not so much the question of right or wrong, but we had to deal with facts, and that a further development of the disputed point might assume unexpected proportions. Grey told me in reply that he had just been receiving a deputation of English merchants; something like a million tons of wheat in English ships were being detained, and he quite agreed with me that the situation was untenable. He told me he would telegraph to Lowther to demand the immediate opening of the straits for fifteen days. * * * Grey told me he was considering a parallel step at Rome to demand that during these fifteen days the Italian fleet refrain from any kind of attack.

Following an attack made on the outer Dardanelles defenses by the Italian fleet on April 18, and a raid into the Dardanelles undertaken by five Italian torpedo boats during the night following, the Turkish Government had closed the straits by mining them. On May 1 Sazonov instructed Benckendorff as follows:

The British Ambassador has asked me whether we intend applying to Italy to obtain from her a promise not to undertake any warlike actions against the Dardanelles, during a certain period of weeks, so that the neutral



The narrowest part of the Bosphorus (810 yards), with Europe on the left and Asia on the right. The photograph was taken on the Asiatic side, seven or eight miles above Scutari

ships could pass the straits during such period. In reply I told the Ambassador I could not consent to such a step at Rome, because I knew from official information that Italy would positively refuse to make such a promise.

SAZONOV'S ATTITUDE

Other documents in this collection show that Sazonov assumed this attitude merely because he thought the time had come when by such tactics the problem of the straits could be solved in favor of Russia. On May 2 Sazonov was informed by Benckendorff as follows:

Nicolson tells me that Lowther has telegraphed that the Turkish Government proposed to open the Dardanelles as soon as the mines have been removed, but reserved to herself the right again to close the straits in case of military exigencies arising.

By May 9 the matter had been taken up with the French Government, for Iswolsky sends the following information to Sazonov:

Poincaré has, on the one hand, done everything to carry through an actual settlement of this question in our favor, but * * * he is not wholly convinced of the justification of

the legal thesis set up by us, viz., that Turkey is bound to allow neutral shipping to pass the straits in times of war as well as in peace. * * * He also admitted to me that, after careful study of the texts, he inclines toward denying the legal justifications * * * and had intended to submit it to the consideration of experts in international law when the news arrived that the Porte had decided to accede to our demand.

Poincaré does not wish to deny that the straits are in a peculiar position on account of the existing treaties, and that there devolves upon Turkey a certain obligation in favor of international trade. But, since no actual regulations exist regarding the internationalizing of the straits as, for instance, in the case of the Suez Canal, the Turkish Government can hardly be denied the right of adopting the necessary defensive measures in case of an immediate military danger. * * *

In the further course of conversation, Poincaré suggested, casually, so to speak, an idea to which I wish to draw your special attention, viz., that, if our view that Turkey was bound to keep the straits open to neutral trade in wartime as well as in peace should prevail, it would, in the end, lead to a formal neutralization of the straits, the more so since such a standpoint would be in accord with

the general evolution of modern international law. We should, in his opinion, not lose sight of this fact, so as not to get into a conflict ourselves with our own political interests and aspirations.

On these aspirations light is thrown in a report by the Russian Ambassador in Paris to Iswolsky, when the latter was Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The report bears the date of April 15, 1909:

I cannot but deplore the fact that this moment finds us unprepared not only to solve the Oriental question in a sense favorable to ourselves, but even to take part effectively in the regulation of this question, for historical experience, for example the latest events, have again proved that world problems of such a nature cannot be solved without resorting to force. * * * All preparations had been made by our War Ministry and the Admiralty staff to influence matters in the Turkish capital, should disturbances take place there. Unfortunately, we were able to convince ourselves during the secret conferences held under your Chairmanship last Summer that nothing remains of these precautionary measures.

Will you now permit me to give utterance to the hope that, thanks to your efforts, measures will be taken, or the urgency of such at least recognized, to enable Russia to fulfill her historic mission and to prevent a world problem being settled in a manner not in accordance with our interests?

The occasion for this allusion to Constantinople and her straits was the Armenian uprising of that year. From scores of such utterances to be found in the Russian documents, one more is reproduced here. On May 10, 1913, in his telegram No. 341, M. de Giers, Russian Ambassador in Constantinople, expresses himself to Sazonov as follows:

Though I am personally convinced that Turkey is on the grade of a general decline, yet I must lay stress on the fact that Turkish politicians do not consider the situation of the empire so hopeless as to permit any extensive international guardianship. They can also count in this respect on the support of several great powers. The Entente Powers must keep this in view in order not to come forward with proposals that would never receive general assent.

If I consider this question from the point of view of our own interest I cannot refrain

from recognizing the fact that the introduction of an international element into our relations with Turkey, which have been direct up to the present, could only hinder and delay our historical task to take possession of the Straits. In so far as Turkey is not a large market for the sale of our goods we are not at all interested in her regeneration.

What would be most to our advantage would be this: The establishment for the time being of sufficient order in Turkey to insure the personal and material safety of the population, regardless of religion and nationality. This would enable us to postpone the liquidation of Turkey until the moment when our participation in this process of liquidation would afford us the greatest possible advantages. As you remark in your letter 391, we may count on establishing better relations with Turkey than hitherto. But in order to weaken the Turkish resistance against us we must strive to eliminate from our relations with Turkey such bodies as would enable our rivals to point out that we are working deliberately against Turkey's own interests, as, for instance, is being done in the questions of the increase of the Turkish customs duty.

It has been shown here that the Turkish Government kept the straits open for merchant vessels of any kind and registry in times of peace; that the straits were closed to all non-Ottoman men-of-war, and that in times of war the straits could be closed against shipping of any sort. The exceptions to these general rules were that under a later capitulation the Great Powers were entitled each to keep a small cruiser, or "stationnaire," in the straits and that the Turkish Government permitted friendly merchant vessels now and then to navigate the straits at their own risk even when they were closed, which meant that free navigation had been made impossible by the laying of mine fields. It was the practice of the Turks to leave a lane through the mined zones for use by their own ships of war. Vessels could be piloted over these lanes, but in case of foreign shipping this necessitated usually relaying the mines, since there was no assurance that the location of the mines and the extent of the mine field had not been noted for the benefit of Turkey's enemy. The Turkish Government, therefore, was

loath to reopen the straits once they had been closed. During this régime Turkey established and maintained forts, coast batteries, arsenals, naval and military bases, submarine torpedo stations and the like in the straits, acting in all respects as any sovereign Government would in the exercise of its right to prepare for attack by land or water. But there was this difference, that Turkey, being always in need of money, had passed to quite an extent into the control of international finance in matters budgetary. With each succeeding loan more of Turkey's self-volition was whittled away, so that the British Naval Missions and German Military Missions were political expedients rather than necessities from the angle of Ottoman national defense. In fact, these missions impaired Turkey's position among the nations instead of bettering it.

THE STRAITS CONVENTION OF LAUSANNE

International political control of the Dardanelles, parts of the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus, as well as certain islands in these waters and in the Aegean Sea, was by the convention of Lausanne, July 24, 1923, placed in the hands of the Straits Commission, consisting of one representative each of Turkey, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, Russia and Yugoslavia. It was provided that adherence to the convention by the United States would give that country a representative also. It is the duty of the commission to apply the regulations concerning the straits made by the Lausanne conference under the auspices of the League of Nations, to the Council of which body the commission is to make an annual report in regard to all matters within its purview. The commission has the power to elaborate the straits regulations set up at Lausanne. Article 17 of the convention provides that "the provisions of the present convention shall not impair the right of Turkey to navigate freely its fleet in Turkish territorial waters," reference being had here especially to the

Sea of Marmora. In considering the status conferred upon the straits, as the Bosphorus, Marmora and Dardanelles are known collectively in the convention, it will be well to consider the different aspects of the subject separately:

Status of Constantinople—The Turkish Government is given the right to maintain in the City of Constantinople, comprising Stamboul, Pera, Galata, Scutari and the Principo Islands, a garrison of 12,000 men, and also an arsenal and a naval base at Constantinople. Should the necessities of war lead to an increase in this military establishment the conclusion of peace will automatically oblige the Turkish Government to reduce its military establishment to the dimensions laid down in the convention of Lausanne.

Status of the Straits Littoral—Along the shores of the straits, excepting the provisions specifically made for Constantinople and the eastern shore of the Sea of Marmora between Daridje and Karabigha, no fortification or other permanent artillery emplacement, submarine torpedo station or other submarine contrivance of a military nature (including mines), and no military aviation establishment and naval base may be installed, nor may this be done on the west coast of the Sea of Marmora, though these waters may be frequented by Turkish submarine boats. Turkish aircraft, however, may fly anywhere, and Turkish recruits may be taken through any zone en route to their station or home.

Demilitarized Straits Zone—To assure the unhindered navigation of the straits a demilitarized zone was established. This zone includes the entire Peninsula of Gallipoli and the western littoral of the Sea of Marmora to a depth of about ten kilometers from the Isthmus of Bulair to Kumbaghi. The eastern shore of the Dardanelles was demilitarized to a depth of twenty kilometers, from Eski-Stamboul, opposite the Island of Tenedos, to a point immediately north of the town of Karabigha. The demilitarized zone of the Bosphorus extends to fifteen kilometers to the east

and west from the shores of that strait. To the demilitarized zone belong all the islands in the Sea of Marmora with the exception of the Island Emir-Ali-Adasi, as well as the Aegean islands, Samothrace, Lemnos, Imbros and a small group at the mouth of the Dardanelles known as the Rabbit Islands.

Navigation of the Straits—The new status of the straits gives full right of way to all merchant fleets in times of peace, though navigation of these waters "by night" will be a phrase without meaning, so long as the channel at Cape Nagara and elsewhere is not sufficiently improved, and the lane from the Aegean to the Black Sea is not completely buoyed and better equipped with lights than it now is. In times of war merchantmen will be able to use these waters as normally, provided Turkey herself is not a belligerent, in which case they will have to submit to visit and search in such zones as Turkey may establish, while enemy trade ships may be prevented from using the straits at all. The measures to be used, however, may not in any manner interfere with neutral shipping, be this of mercantile or military character. Without stating so directly, the Straits Convention of Lausanne gives to warships of non-belligerents the same status almost as to merchantmen of neutrals. One of the means kept in mind at Lausanne but never named specifically was mines. We may say then that the straits are in that respect a part of the marine highway of the nations.

Attention must be directed to the fact that the maximum naval and aerial forces that may enter the Black Sea in times of peace is to be no stronger than the largest of such forces maintained by any country on the Black Sea littoral. This has nothing to do with the state of war, in which event a power

may send forces of any strength into the said sea, and may do that without interference by Turkey, to whom immunity in that respect is guaranteed by the signatories of the convention. In this manner, then, a great load has been taken off Turkey's shoulders, for in the past Russia, for instance, would have deemed it an act of aggression had Turkey permitted a naval force hostile to Russia to make use of the waterways in question. What naval bases Turkey may establish in the Sea of Marmora must be located on the eastern shore of that body. So long as the straits retain their present international status Turkey is not likely to expend great sums in this field. Under the conditions prevailing the Sea of Marmora is for Turkey what the Baltic Sea was and is to Germany. With the aid of coast artillery and mines the straits could be easily and effectively closed; in the absence of such means in the demilitarized zone that is not possible. Thus a Gordian knot was cut at Lausanne. Not only the straits were "demilitarized" but much of the Near East was similarly treated. There can be no doubt that the operation performed was beneficial. For the first time in history traffic to and from the Black Sea may be carried on over a "free" lane—the freest of its kind, since in the Suez and Panama Canals shipping is subject to "territoriality" exercised by powerful Governments. Though Suez be somewhat "international" also, Great Britain's wishes in respect to it could hardly be gainsaid. The Panama Canal is entirely under the control of the United States. In many respects the Turkish straits have much in common now with the Kiel Canal, connecting the North Sea and Baltic through German territory. The friends of peace cannot but hope that some time in the near future all such waterways will be given the status now held by the Hellespont Propontis and Ford of Io.

Lights and Shadows in Palestine Today

By G. AGRONSKY

A Palestine journalist. The author lived in Palestine from 1918 to 1921 and returned there in March, 1921, to engage in newspaper work.

PALESTINE is suffering from a great disability, namely, the ambiguity of her national status. Ever since that fateful day in November, 1917, when the British Government issued its declaration in favor of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, the country has been in a state of uncertainty.

The declaration, which was a statesmanlike document, was couched in altruistic phraseology; the Jewish people were promised British help in the reconstruction of their national home; the Arabs were given assurances of nothing prejudicial to their interests following upon this move. The British, whose Egyptian expeditionary force had not yet occupied Palestine, appeared anxious to be helpful to all concerned. Whether the scholarly Lord Balfour knew it or not, when he formulated the terms of the declaration, he was following the old Talmudic principle of promoting a venture whereby one gained without another's losing.

Seven years is not a long time in the history of this ancient land accustomed from old Hebraic times to count in sevens, but the changes wrought in this brief space may be said to be greater and more consequential than during the last seven centuries. For one thing it has developed that by "treaty, capitulation, grant, usage, sufferance and other lawful means, His (Britannic) Majesty has power and jurisdiction in Palestine." This has not been news since July, 1920, when a British High Commissioner arrived in Palestine; in fact, it has not been news since October, 1918, when General Allenby occupied the country and established a military administration.

British jurisdiction over Palestine, however, was neither a part nor a condition of the pledge of 1917. The jurisdiction of Great Britain was no more implicit in that pledge than was the jurisdiction of France, Italy, Japan, Siam, or the United States—to take the powers more or less in the order of their seconding of the Balfour declaration. That his Majesty was to have "power and jurisdiction within Palestine," was always understood but not definitely stated until the Allied Conference at San Remo in April, 1920, when Britain "consented" to exercise this "power and jurisdiction." Subsequently Britain was "persuaded" by the League of Nations to accept the mandate for Palestine and to negotiate the treaty with Turkey, excluding Palestine, along with other territories, from the sphere of Turkish "power and jurisdiction." The mandate for Palestine, into which had been previously embodied, verbatim, the pledge of Great Britain given in November, 1917, to the Jews of the world and to the Arabs of Palestine, has been incorporated substantially in the Lausanne Treaty, which is now coming into effect.

Standing by itself, this pledge is sufficient to create misunderstanding, and even friction between the two races. Arab spokesmen have voiced their opinion that it was not possible to "facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home" without doing violence to the Arabs' "civil and religious rights." The Jews, with the exception of one or two absentee Zionists, like Israel Zangwill and the editor of the Jewish Chronicle of London, have shown a determination to try and achieve their purpose

in Palestine in cooperation with and to the benefit, and not the detriment of, the Arab population.

The Jews, great believers as they are in the printed word, are willing to abide by the declaration. This, the only pledge they have been given, represents to them the maximum at present attainable. The Arabs of Palestine profess little faith in the written word and insist that they are the holders of a British pledge which antedated that of Balfour. They have in mind the promise made by a British representative in 1915 to King Hussein of the Hedjaz to promote Arab independence in the territories then forming part of the Ottoman Empire, if the Arabs of these territories would help Britain and her allies dismember the empire. Arab spokesmen accordingly contend that Britain had no right to promise in 1917 to give the Jews part of the territory it had promised in 1915 to give to the Arabs.

The British reply is well known. It is to the effect that Palestine was not included in the bargain of 1915. There are documents, it is said, in support of the contention that Palestine was definitely excluded from the sphere of Arab independence. Great Britain says it is living up to its bargain in Hedjaz, where Hussein reigns more or less supreme, in Mesopotamia where Feisal, son of Hussein, is King, and in Transjordan where, by the grace of the British, there rules Abdullah, another of Hussein's sons. Palestine cannot be a Moslem-Arab territory, the British declare, because it was the Holy Land of the Jew and Christian before there were Moslems to occupy Jewish shrines and borrow Jewish prophets. Great Britain usually fails to say officially what all Britishers know, that aside from its sanctity, Palestine is badly needed as a link in the Imperial chain, needed more badly than ever, now that the Egyptian link is undergoing considerable strain, and there has to be a place under the sub-tropical sun of these parts whence British airplanes can be started and British troops transhipped.

The answer of the British Government with regard to its intentions in 1915 is as ambiguous in its way as is the philanthropic phraseology of the declaration of 1917. It gives rise to demands based on ill-defined premises and promises. Everywhere in Palestine one hears the claimants saying that they want nothing but what had been promised. But the Jews are in position to quote chapter and verse, section and sub-section of the mandate, whereas the Arabs can refer only to vague, unrecorded undertakings.

Arab opposition to Great Britain and Zionism is traceable to various sources. There are undoubtedly sincere Arab idealists who resent the presence of the British in the midst of what they regard as Arab territory and who see in this a hindrance to the Arab Confederation. They view Zionism with concern because it provides Great Britain with an internationally sanctioned reason for remaining as Palestine's keeper. Antagonism is inspired also by Britain's rivals in the Middle East, especially by France. Nursing a disturbed Syria, France cannot tolerate the thought of a tranquil British Palestine. France would like to prepare the ground for a British withdrawal from Palestine if and when the French position in Syria becomes even less tolerable than it now is. To France Zionism is obnoxious only in so far as it gives Britain an excuse for remaining in Palestine. Finally, hostility is fomented by absentee and resident landlords who pine for the Turkish days when *bakshish* prevailed.

PROGRESS SINCE 1921

Into this atmosphere of opposition to British "power and jurisdiction" the Administration of Sir Herbert Samuel has been trying for the past four years to bring order. His policy has been to discourage the politicians and to minister to the country's actual needs. When I revisited Palestine after an absence of three years, I found Palestine changed almost beyond recognition. The more or less well-oiled administrative ma-

chinery of the present is in striking contrast to the graft-ridden system of Turkish times. The governing apparatus is being reduced to a workable minimum with erstwhile far-flung departments concentrated wherever possible. Military smartness, cleanliness and orderliness, exemplified in the polished boots and shiny brass buttons of the local police, is the order of the day. As the police and gendarmes become more numerous and reliable, the British-recruited forces are progressively diminished.

One cannot say with absolute certainty that "bakshish" has disappeared from the land. Certain it is that it is not being tolerated or countenanced in high places. Attempts at changing and adapting the antiquated institutions to modern needs are proceeding all along the line—in the customs offices, the law courts, the tax collector's offices. Despite the many drains on the Treasury, such as the necessity of saying everything in three official languages (English, Arabic and Hebrew), the administrative budget is made to balance with the Government's own revenue. This revenue is large enough to support extensive im-

provements in the railways and vast extensions in the highways. It is also supporting a rather expensive British gendarmerie, whose pay is several times that of the local police and the entire maintenance of which is borne by the Palestinian, and not the British, taxpayer. The British garrison has been reduced to a minimum, and the expense, amounting to £1,000,000, is the British taxpayers' only burden in respect to Palestine—a burden which would not



Palestinian Jew casting his vote at the first election on Western democratic lines in Jerusalem on March 18, 1923

have been lessened if the air-force men and the handful of infantry were stationed anywhere outside Palestine.

The benefits to the entire population from the general consolidation and reorganization are inestimable. All that the Administration can do without seeming to impose a foreign rule and culture is being done. Arab children are being educated in schools organized and partly maintained by the Government. They are not receiving anything like a

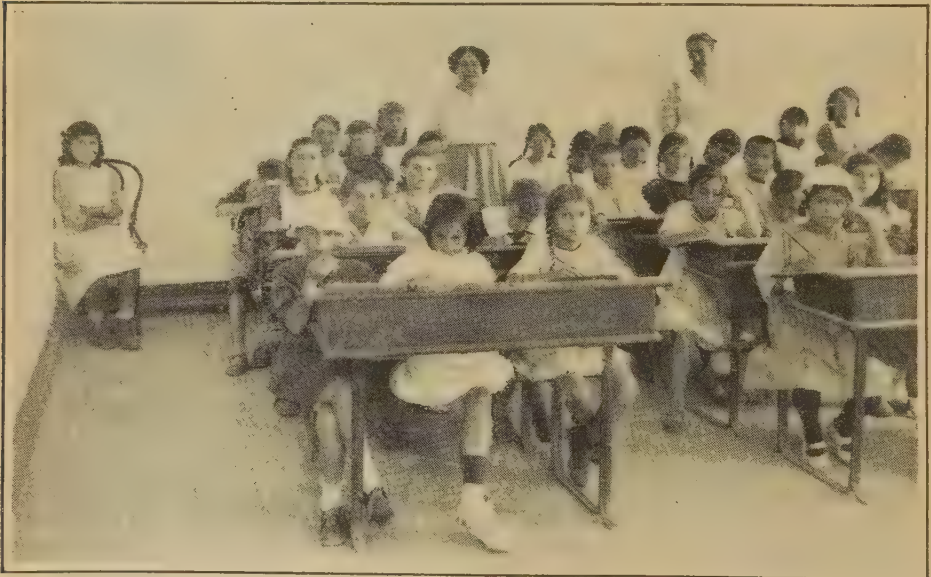
Western education, but the appalling illiteracy will certainly soon begin to decline. Because the status quo has to be maintained, the oppressive Turkish system of taxation is still in force, and the cultivator is bending under the intolerable burden of the tithes system. But this too the Government is doing its best to reform.

CAUSES OF JEWISH DISCONTENT

Inasmuch as they represent from 11 to 12 per cent. of the population, the Jews maintain that they are entitled to a proportionate part of the benefits the Government is bestowing upon the country, in addition to such concessions as are specifically guaranteed in the mandate, and they assert that in actual fact they are the beneficiaries of neither. They do not, for example, receive 11 to 12 per cent. of the money the Government spends upon education, but a miserable pittance in the form of a governmental grant-in-aid. The Hebrew school system is paid for by the Jews themselves, American Jews alone contributing through the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) up to

70 per cent. of the cost of the Jewish child's education in Palestine. From the money the Government spends upon agricultural experimentation, the 20,000 Jews on the farms derive little or no benefit. The Zionists maintain their own colonization department and experiment stations, whose findings are available to the Arab cultivator, a fact which is gratefully acknowledged by the Government. The support of the new population, due to immigration, is provided entirely by the Zionist Organization, which also employs and arranges for the permanent settling of the immigrant. This heavy burden explains why, in the four years under the Samuel Administration, not more than 35,000 Jews entered the country. The Government adheres strictly to the rule not to admit more than the country can absorb. As absorption depends wholly upon the country's industrial and agricultural opportunities, the Zionists are always complaining that the Government is not doing all it might do to encourage greater industrial activity.

Instances are cited of Jewish manufacturers from abroad who were forced



Ewing Galloway

Class in a Zionist school for girls established in Jerusalem since the British occupation



Students of the Zionist School of Agriculture for Girls in Jerusalem at work in their garden

to abandon their hopes of founding factories in Palestine because the Government declined to depart from the prohibitive 11 per cent. import duty on machinery and equipment. More consideration for Jewish effort is demanded, if only for the fact that owing to the impetus of the Zionist movement and the sentimental association of the Jewry of the world with Palestine, about \$5,000,000 of Jewish money is annually invested and expended in and for Palestine—a sum favorably comparing with the total the Government is expending. Of this sum little less than half is provided by the Zionist Organization and its allied institutions administering the Keren Hayessod. Increased revenue for this fund made up solely of voluntary contributions is dependent upon the more or less obvious Jewish achievements in Palestine. Complaints are frequent, therefore, that by not giving the Zionists greater scope the Government is discouraging greater collections for Zionist reconstruction funds.

State and waste lands for the settlement of Jews, definitely promised in the mandate, have not been made available. It is notorious that a very important concession of State land in the Jor-

dan Valley was canceled by the Government, which was intimidated by a certain Arab agitator.

Zionists proudly claim that notwithstanding all discouragements and hindrances, Jewish effort has not been checked. They point to the eighty-three agricultural settlements, more than thirty of which were started within the last three years. The same period has witnessed also the successful establishment of a large salt company, of Baron Rothschild's flour mills at Haifa, of a large oil factory, a cement factory, and many other smaller industrial enterprises launched by Jews.

The Zionists and a considerable body of Arabs point with satisfaction to the improved social and economic relations between Jews and Arabs. The policy of the Moslem Christian Society in opposing every measure proposed by the Government as a step toward the self-governing institutions provided in the mandate is being fought by many leaders of Arab opinion. Fraternization between the Arabs and the Jews is becoming more and more common. The Chief Secretary, Sir Gilbert Clayton, who took part in a celebration in a Jewish colony, had at the last minute

to change his speech when he found himself faced by a multitude of neighboring Arabs, who came to join the Jews' celebration. The political representative of the Zionist Organization in Palestine, Colonel F. H. Kisch, on a tour of inspection of the Jewish colonies in the Plain of Esdraelon, was gratifyingly surprised to find a warm welcome awaiting him in nearly every Arab village he passed. Quite recently the Sheik of a village near Migdal, on the shore of Lake Tiberias, took a prominent part in the laying of the cornerstone of twelve houses being built by American Jews.

PALESTINIAN PARADOXES

The ambiguity of the nation's status, however, embarrasses the Administration and produces a vicious circle of paradoxes. The Government contends that it is unable to do more for the Jews because they are a small minority. The Zionists reply that unless the Government does more they will always remain a minority. The Jews complain of what is not being done for the country; the vocal Arabs usually against what is being done. The High Commissioner hesitates to give the Zionists greater play because of latent and actual Arab suspicion and fears. He often hints that it would perhaps have been better to have had a non-Jewish British High Commissioner who, not being suspect on account of his race and religion, would probably have been more liberal in interpreting and executing his Government's promise. The relation of the Jews to the High Commissioner is peculiar; they disapprove of his policy, but approve of him personally. The Arabs, on the other hand, are secretly pleased with his policy, but entertain no affection for him personally. Fairness to the Arabs is thus possible without rousing Jewish hostility, whereas the smallest step in the direction of the Jews brings down a torrential downpour of abuse in the Arabic press. The Arabs' strength seems to lie in their alleged political weakness. They

are always able to resort to the plea that they are threatened by hordes of foreign invaders. The Jews' weakness is their so-called political strength, the foundation upon which rests the future structure of their national home being constantly menaced by the Arab shouts of "wolf."

The Zionist wolf is a child of the Arab's fertile imagination. In addition to the Zionist wolf there is the menace of "Bolshevism," about which there is raised an occasional hue and cry. This shrill cry has its basis in the Jews' attempt to establish social justice in Palestine. Of the thirty-five Zionist settlements created during the last three years, twenty-nine are under a guild organization. The land and the equipment are entrusted by the Zionist authorities to the laborers to be worked in common. This arrangement was resorted to because it was found that otherwise the Jewish pioneers would have to face the competition of native labor of a low standard of living—a disadvantage which even their ardent patriotism could not offset. The system was also found to conform more to the pioneers' sense of personal dignity than being hired out to till another's patch of land.

Cooperation has been extended to other occupations than farming. Jewish laborers are organized into building construction guilds and manage certain vital producers' and consumers' cooperatives. The middleman is being eliminated in so far as the some 20,000 organized Jewish laborers are concerned. These attempts are decried as communism and Bolshevism by Arabs and others seeking to discredit the Zionist activities. The Zionist authorities are daily giving their approval of this sort of "communism" by supplying the financial sinews. The High Commissioner, of Liberal tendencies "at home," is tacitly encouraging the development of cooperative production by not withholding a Government contract for a public utility from the cooperative bidder, if the tender is not higher than that of an individual contractor.

New Europe's Peasant Proprietors

By EMIL LENGYEL

American Representative of Die Boerse and Die Stunde of Vienna; Former Editor of the Hungarian Review of Vienna.

WHILE the world's attention is focused on Paris, Berlin and Moscow, capitals of the three European nations which have had the most publicity since the World War, one of the most important pages of history is being written in the countries bounded by Germany on the east, Russia on the west, the Adriatic on the south and the Arctic Sea on the north. In nine countries, situated in this territory, the inhabitants of which total over 80,000,000, a problem is being attacked which has caused many a war and rebellion on European soil since the days when ancient Rome saw the Gracchus brothers' rise and fall—the problem of the distribution of land among the landless.

The part of what is known as the "granary of Europe" is situated in the long strip of territory above defined. The rich wheat-growing lowlands of Rumania, Hungary and Yugoslavia, the valley of Moldavia in Czechoslovakia, the undulating hills of Southern Poland, even the chilly Baltic States, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia and Finland, harbor great landless peasant masses for whom the distribution of land means the realization of a dream cherished by their fathers for centuries. Deprived of the land on which they have had to toil in the pay of the owners of immense landed properties, they have made parts of Central and Eastern Europe the breeding place of discontent and the potential centre of political unrest.

The situation thus created is due to the fact that the medieval system of landed property-holding survived the first decade of the twentieth century and perpetuated a type of quasi-eco-

nomic serfdom. This system, which was semi-feudal in its origin as well as in its characteristics, is responsible for the concentration of land in the hands of a few throughout a considerable portion of Eastern and Central Europe. It accounts for the fact that in Rumania, Hungary and the Baltic provinces of the former Russian Empire, now known as the Baltic States, from 50 to 70 per cent. of all landed property was owned by a few proprietors, while about the same percentage of the peasant population had either no land or possessed only small holdings insufficient to provide a living for themselves and their families.

This state of affairs was mainly the result of the application of the ancient Roman slogan: "Woe to the vanquished!" The nine countries enumerated formerly belonged, either in whole or in part, to three great and aggressive powers, namely, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the German and Russian Empires. These powerful nations had conquered their weaker neighbors and distributed the spoils among themselves. The territories thus acquired were further distributed among those noblemen of the victorious countries who had either distinguished themselves in the war or who were found worthy of such a land grant for other reasons. Thus, when Czech independence was annihilated in 1620, and a number of Czech noblemen were executed on the public square of Prague, their landed property was confiscated for the benefit of the "nouveaux riches," Austrian officers who had been instrumental in exterminating the Czech forces. Similarly, after the Baltic provinces had been con-

quered by the different German orders, the landed property of the defeated population was confiscated in favor of the conquerors. As a consequence of this economic readjustment, the surviving representatives of the vanquished nation were reduced to serfdom.

Not all the landed property belonging to the former enemy was forfeited, however. A considerable number of those in the ranks of the vanquished, perceiving that the star of their nation was declining, went over to the enemy. In many cases, particularly when the services of the traitors were important for the conqueror, they were copiously remunerated. Those Czech noblemen who had deserted their brethren were given extensive property holdings. Grants of large stretches of land for treason were much in vogue in Hungary, where the Hapsburg rulers tried by this means to counterbalance the influence of those rebellious noblemen who had defied the dynasty and opposed its centralizing efforts.

NINE NATIONS AFFECTED

When, after the débâcle of the World War, nine European countries took over their heritage from the great monarchies, they found that the most precious parts of their territories were owned by powerful feudal lords who had obtained their land-grants partly for having participated in crushing the independence of their countries and partly for having committed specifically treacherous acts against them. Furthermore, the Governments of the newly established countries were faced by the fact that the system of great estates, as it had existed for centuries, implied the poverty of millions of peasants who either dragged out a miserable existence at home or who were forced to emigrate. For the new nations of Europe, agrarian reform was therefore the most vital question from both the political and economic point of view. They had to rid their lands of the feudal lords, who, having received their wealth from the old régime, could not help looking with suspicion at the new order of things. It

was expected, on the other hand, that a distribution of the land on a considerable scale would create a powerful, self-confident peasant class which, standing solidly behind the new régime to which it owed its prosperity, would be the most powerful support of the revolutionary Governments. From the economic end of the problem, likewise, the necessity of quick action could not be doubted. The plight of the landless proletariat had become intolerable. Their neighbors, the land-owning peasants, had amassed great wealth during the agricultural boom in Europe which set in after the war and which was caused by the shortage of food, due to the elimination of American and Russian competition; the landless peasants, on the contrary, were living in utter poverty. America, whither they had wandered before the war, adopted the policy of restricted immigration, so that for many of them migration across the Atlantic seemed all but impossible. Only a speedy settlement of the land question could prevent an explosion.

In many countries the execution of the land reform encountered great difficulties. One of the main complications was that some of the new States were not homogeneous units, since they were composed of parts of different countries whose needs, as regards the necessity of agricultural reform, were altogether different. Rumania, for example, after the termination of the World War, had acquired territory from all her neighbors. It devolved upon her Government to find a device by which the land problems of the former Hungarian, Bulgarian, Austrian and Russian territories should be so solved that neither the peasants living in the newly acquired territories nor those of pre-war Rumania should have any cause for mutual jealousy or complaint. Even more complicated was the situation in Yugoslavia. Serbia, which is the nucleus of the triune kingdom, has been a peasant democracy since its establishment. Land has been owned there by the peasants and not by the feudal lords. Croatia and Slovenia, however, the two

other component parts of Yugoslavia, were noted before the armistice for their great feudalistic landed estates, and this made it necessary to adjust land conditions in these newly acquired parts of the kingdom to those which prevailed in the mother country.

FACED BY SERIOUS OBSTACLES

In addition to the technical difficulties of carrying out the agrarian reform, several serious obstacles have been encountered. The most noteworthy of these is the insufficiency of the land for the purposes of distribution. In the agricultural regions of Central Europe, east of Germany and west of Russia, the increase of population has been greater than the industrialization of these sections. Due to this discrepancy, the factory, which is the most effective remedy of land evils, could not exert its influence by absorbing the surplus agricultural laborers. The consequence is that today, in most of the nine countries of New Europe, about one-third of the agricultural proletariat could not be accommodated, even if the whole amount of arable land were distributed among the landless. The grave dangers likely to arise out of this state of affairs induced the responsible statesmen of New Europe to look for a solution which, while safeguarding the interests of those already owning land, would satisfy the greatest number of the landless.

Practically all the agrarian reform plans have one characteristic in common, namely, the classification of the applicants for land. All the new countries made special provisions for the accommodation of the ex-service men. In countries whose inhabitants were forced during the war to fight on the side of their oppressors, as was the case in Czechoslovakia and to some extent even in Poland, Croatia and Slovenia, those soldiers who had refused to obey their military leaders and joined the ranks of those who were their official enemies and natural allies, were given certain privileges. One of the most remarkable instances of this type was af-

forded in the land-laws of Czechoslovakia, which provided that those soldiers who deserted from the Austrian Army and joined the field forces of Russia, France or Italy, should have a preferred claim on the land under distribution. In some of the Baltic States military service after the termination of the World War and participation in guerrilla warfare against the Bolsheviks or, in the case of Lithuania, against Poland, are counted as sufficient qualification for a privileged consideration of the applicant's claim.

Realization of the fact that part of the applicants will have to be refused the much-coveted land, and fear of the charge of discrimination and of possible internal disorders, led eventually to efforts to satisfy all. As it was thought that this was impossible on the basis of private property, experiments were made with communistic or semi-communistic devices. The most drastic attempt in this direction was the agrarian reform introduced by the Hungarian Communist Government, headed by Bela Kun, in 1919, as a result of which one-third of Hungary's arable land was nationalized and turned over to the landless peasantry for collective production. This experiment failed, partly on account of its inherent defects, which manifested themselves in an apparent lack of cooperation among the joint owners, and partly because of the early collapse of the communistic régime, which made it impossible to apply the necessary correctives.

A different idea was advocated by Stephen Raditch, Croatia's popular peasant leader. Raditch's plan is based on a semi-communistic, semi-individualistic system of land ownership which is patterned on the peasants' cooperative associations in Denmark. The *zadruga*, as he calls his plan, would permit the colonization of all the landless peasants of Croatia. Naturally, they would have only limited rights to the soil they would be called upon to cultivate. As Raditch is an exile, he has not had an opportunity to give his plan the test

which the Croatian peasants are anxious it should have.

Protracted disputes have arisen in Parliament about the limited or unlimited ownership of the land to be distributed, but the debates have centred on the question as to whether the expropriated land should be paid for by the beneficiaries. The system of compensation for the expropriated land was finally adopted. Most noteworthy of the exceptions from this general rule is that which concerns the property of the former ruling houses situated on the territory now belonging to the new States; in accordance with the provisions of the peace treaties, such landed properties have been confiscated without compensation for the benefit of the States which had acquired them.

Though the general features of agrarian reform invited identical solutions in the different countries, in many instances special conditions caused the insertion of divergent legislative provisos into the law governing the new agrarian conditions. Some of the countries proceeded in a radical manner, expropriating a large number of the properties of the former owners and distributing them generously among those eager to secure a grant, so far as such generosity was not limited by the shortage of land. In other countries, due to a number of reasons, the expropriation and distribution of land has been carried out rather slowly.

LIBERAL PLAN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The example of Czechoslovakia may be quoted as illustrative of the liberal and conservative treatment of the problem. In the last year the execution of the land reform has progressed rapidly in Czechoslovakia. The Land Office, which had been endowed with quasi-judicial powers in all questions pertaining to the agrarian reform, has worked under strong pressure. According to the law providing for the expropriation, those parts of the estates, comprising largely arable land, which are in excess of 150 hectares (one hectare is the equivalent of two and a half acres) can

be expropriated. If the property is only partly arable the exempted area is 250 hectares. In no case can the exemption exceed 500 hectares. The law of allotment provides that in addition to the ex-soldiers and the peasants formerly employed on large estates, the returning emigrants should receive preferential treatment. In view of the fact that about 25 per cent. of Czechoslovakia's present population had to emigrate owing to the intolerable agrarian conditions which prevailed there during the Austro-Hungarian régime, this section of the law must be considered as vitally important. Its main purpose is to attract Czechoslovaks living abroad, mostly in America, to return to their country and to invest part of their savings in the acquisition of real estate. This is all the more important for the success of the agrarian reform in Czechoslovakia, inasmuch as the greatest number of the beneficiaries of the agrarian reform are not now in a position to effect substantial payments on their land purchases, so that they must be aided by the State, which extends to them its helping hand through the Land Office. The initial payments are so arranged that even a peasant with moderate means can buy a small parcel for himself and his family. The parcels are usually so divided that every peasant family receives not less than six and not more than fifteen hectares. According to a recent regulation of the Land Office, those peasants who have thus acquired their landed holdings must not sell them for ten years without the consent of the office.

One of the remarkable features of the Czechoslovak land law is, that up to 100 hectares, the purchase price of the land is based upon its average price during the years 1913-1915. It is evident that the price as provided by the law is exceedingly favorable for the new owner, while it is very disadvantageous for the former proprietor. It will be easily perceived that with the Czechoslovak currency of today depreciated to about one-ninth of its pre-war value, the new owner has to pay only

a ninth part of the actual value of the lots.

Hungary is now engaged in a unique land experiment which recalls the time when rulers granted deeds of land to their faithful followers, either as fiefs or as entailed property. In the guise of agrarian reform a system has been introduced which is described by its critics as the "revival of medieval land grants for military service." Its essence is that "patriots of unblemished record," as Paragraph No. 1 of Ministerial Decree No. 6650 of 1920 sets forth, "who have deserved well of the Hungarian State by serving in its defense, may be granted real estate, in token of the undying gratitude of their country; the grant of land being made subject to the liability of the recipient to render certain defined public services. Such properties are to be designated 'heroes' estates." Those who receive land under this decree and their next heirs are authorized to call themselves "heroes" and to place this title before their name. The lands which the "heroes" receive are of a medium size. The persons thus honored are expected to stand by the present régime of Admiral Horthy with their wealth and their arms.

The other provisions of the Hungarian agricultural laws which concern the rank and file of the landless, give wide scope to the exertion of the arbitrary will of Government authorities. There is no definite limit for the size of estates which are exempt from expropriation. Landed properties acquired during the war are to be considered as the most appropriate objects of distribution. In this provision the Hungarian law apparently contemplates the deflation of the wealth of wartime profiteers. Very unfavorable for prospective owners is that provision of the law which stipulates that the purchase price of the estates to be expropriated should be computed on the basis of their value at the time of the expropriation. Considering the exceedingly high land prices in Hungary, it does not seem likely, even if the provisions of the law were more liberal in other respects, that

a great number of landless peasants would be able to obtain parcels of land, however small. Equally disadvantageous is a provision which determines that the parcels to be distributed should be only a fraction of an acre, with the notable exception of the "heroes" estates. More reasonable is a paragraph which requires large estates to pay their capital levy "in natura." It is estimated that by this means about 350,000 hectares will be available for the purposes of the agrarian reform. How slowly this reform is being carried out was best characterized by Victor Drozdy, a member of the Hungarian Parliamentary Opposition, who declared that if the execution of the reform were continued at its present tempo, it would take about a hundred years to attend to the cases of 1,200,000 applicants for land. No wonder, therefore, that H. M. Conacher, a distinguished member of the Agricultural Council of Scotland, in an article published in the *Revue Internationale du Travail*, refers to Hungary as a country where mediaeval serfdom is still in existence.

PROGRESS IN BALTIC STATES

According to the "rating" of the statistical bureau of the so-called Green or Peasant International, the agrarian reform has made commendable progress in two of the Baltic States, Esthonia and Latvia, and in the Croatian and Slovenian parts of Yugoslavia. The indifferent attitude of the respective Governments retarded an early settlement of the agrarian problem in Finland, Lithuania and Poland. Rumania stands in the middle, some of her agrarian legislative enactments being of a radical nature, while others are not up to the requirements of the hour.

Latvia has the distinction of being the first new State of Europe to reach a satisfactory settlement of her agrarian problem. This was achieved by creating a so-called "land fund," consisting of the large estates of the German barons of the former crown properties and other real estate specified by law. This land comprises an area of 4,000,-

000 hectares, on the greatest part of which over 50,000 families have been colonized in the last few years. The terms of purchase have been so liberal that no financial difficulties have been encountered by the new colonists in taking over the land allotted to them. In some parts of the country attempts are being made at the revival of the *mir*, which is the Russian pre-Bolshevist type of cooperative ownership of land.

In Esthonia the laws governing the expropriation and distribution of large estates are almost as drastic as those of Latvia. In the Esthonian republic, however, ownership is not conferred upon the peasants among whom the large estates are parceled out; they obtain only the lease of the land for a period of six years. It is contemplated, after the termination of this period, to transform the temporary lease into a hereditary lease. In the meantime the farms will be better equipped with agricultural implements, of which there is a grave shortage at present, due to the intermittent wars which raged on Esthonian territory even after the end of the World War. According to Emil Vesterinen, who is considered in this country as an authority on questions relating to agrarian government policy, Esthonia affords the example of a land where the transformation of large estates into small parcels did not entail the usually anticipated consequences, the most dreaded of which is less production. Vesterinen asserts that under the new régime the area under cultivation has increased and that, consequently, the production of food is quite normal, large quantities having been left over for export abroad.

Lithuania is the only one of the three Baltic States which postponed the final solution of the agrarian problem. The plan adopted by the Lithuanian Government contemplates a period of fifteen years for the execution of the reform. As a preliminary step in this direction the large baronial estates have been expropriated. After the land thus set aside has been distributed, it is hoped that Lithuania's countryside, like

that of her sister States, will consist of small farms with areas of about fifteen hectares each.

IN POLAND AND RUMANIA

The question of the agrarian reform is one of the most hotly debated issues in Poland. Out of the twenty Ministries which have governed the Polish Republic since the World War, a considerable number went down to defeat because of their unsympathetic attitude on this question. The generally accepted explanation for the slow progress which has been made by Poland as well as by several other Governments in reaching a settlement of this problem is the catastrophic depreciation of the currency and the resulting dislocation of the economic equilibrium of the country. It has often been stated by responsible Polish statesmen that under the present currency and general economic conditions a more radical treatment of the problem would entail government bankruptcy. How slowly the work of the land distribution is proceeding can be seen from a Government compilation of the data concerning the area of the land distributed. According to this compilation, only 110,000 hectares were distributed in 1923, as contrasted with the corresponding figure for 1922, viz., 52,000 hectares. These conditions obtain despite the fact that the Polish regulations concerning the expropriation of the land are rather drastic. Generally, 60 hectares is exempt from expropriation in overwhelmingly industrial districts. The corresponding limit in purely agricultural districts is 160 hectares. Some members of the Polish Parliament charge that these low limits were fixed as a measure of political revenge against those land owners whose past or present political activities are not to the taste of the Government.

Special mention is due to the agrarian legislation in Rumania. Before the war Rumania was the scene of many a bloody pogrom against the owners and lessees of large estates. Unfortunately, there was at that time no concerted peaceful action directed at a more

equitable distribution of the land. The consequence was that, apart from sporadic outbursts of popular indignation, the situation had not changed to any considerable extent before 1918. Every suggestion of parceling out some of the large estates was answered at that time with the assertion that the peasants, lacking the facilities which are at the disposal of the great estates, would not be in a position to cultivate the land as extensively as the owners. Moreover, it was pointed out that a readjustment of the property relations would seriously endanger Rumania's position as a great wheat exporting nation of the Balkans and that thereby the country would be deprived of one of the most important active items in its trade balance.

Although, after the war, several parties appeared in the Rumanian political arena labeled as representatives of the peasants' interests, it is admitted that their influence alone would have been insufficient to bring about legislation favorable to the landless classes. What was of paramount importance for the Rumanian peasant proletariat and what swept the country in the direction of a liberal agrarian reform was the change which took place as a result of the stipulations of the Treaties of St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly, which allotted to Rumania parts of all the ad-

joining countries. As it was found necessary, for political and military reasons, to break up the feudal estates which were thriving on some parts of the newly acquired territory, an extensive plan of expropriation in Transylvania, Bessarabia and, to a more limited extent, in Bukovina was decided upon. It was realized, however, that the granting of land only to those peasants who were living on formerly alien territories would be considered unjust by the peasant population of pre-armistice Rumania, and it was feared that such a procedure might cause a violent expression of popular indignation; laws were passed, therefore, which extended the validity of the agrarian reform plan to the old kingdom as well. The interests of the Rumanian owners of large estates were protected by a stipulation permitting the retention by the former owner of 500 hectares of arable land.

The example of Rumania and of the other countries involved shows that the often-expressed concern for the deterioration of the quality and for the diminution of the quantity of the agricultural products as a result of the agrarian reform was vastly overstressed. The new landowners display an enthusiasm for work which more than counterbalances the temporary evil effects of discontinuing traditional agricultural methods.



An Estonian farm

Lenin's Homecoming

A Russian Thanksgiving Day

By ELIAS TOBENKIN

European Correspondent New York Tribune, 1918-1919; Correspondent in Eastern Europe for New York Evening Post, 1920; Author of "Witte Arrives" and Other Novels. Mr. Tobenkin Was Born in Russia

THE return of the late Vladimir Ulianov, better known as Nikolai Lenin, and a number of his Bolshevik associates, from Switzerland to Russia, on April 16, 1917, on the now famous "sealed train" through Germany, has not only passed into history, but has been made a day of national thanksgiving in the Russian calendar.

With Lenin dead and canonized by Russia as her saint, and the date of his return made almost as holy as the hejira of Mohammed, the real nature of Lenin's transactions with the German Government in the Spring of 1917, has become a matter of transcendent historical importance on which new light is needed. This need has now been met by revelations recently made in Moscow. On April 16, 1924, Russia celebrated the seventh anniversary of Lenin's arrival in Russia and in connection therewith the Soviet authorities issued a series of detailed accounts of Lenin's negotiations with the Government of the ex-Kaiser leading to the historic ride across Germany. Zinoviev, Radek and Madame Krupskaya, Lenin's widow—the three most intimately connected with the planning of the famous journey and co-sharers with Lenin in its perils—have each contributed their version of the historic episode. Though aware that they are speaking for posterity all three narrators are frequently anecdotal and even at times display a species of grim humor in their comments on the sequence of events. In a very real sense, these recent publications are history and history of a peculiarly intimate and personal character.

When in February, 1917, revolution broke over Russia, a small band of Rus-

sian political exiles had for some time been "marooned" by the war in Switzerland. This band represented a wing of the Russian revolutionary movement known as Bolshevism and they themselves were called Bolsheviki, a term which at that time meant nothing to the outside world. The leader and philosopher of this group was a scholarly looking individual, small of stature, who, to his landlord and to the passport authorities of Zurich, was known by his real name, Ulianov, and by his pen name, N. Lenin, to the Socialists and the Socialist press of Europe and the world.

The plight of this small band of Russian fugitives in Switzerland was very nearly desperate. They were cut off on all sides from communication with friends and with the outside world. On the material side this quarantine had reduced them to a state of semi-starvation. Their clothing was literally falling off their backs from age and wear. One distinguished member of the group was turned away from the door of the Zurich Public Library by an attendant who mistook the man for a vagabond. Even some of the Socialists of Switzerland became contemptuous of this little band and of its leader, Lenin, so inept and helpless did they appear.

Madame Krupskaya begins her account of her husband's last Winter in exile as follows:

It was a bad Winter. All connections with Russia had ceased. Connections with other countries had become difficult and sporadic. The revolutionary circle about us was growing smaller. We were depressed and kept a great deal to ourselves.

The Lenins lived in Zurich, while

Zinoviev lived in Berne. Lenin and his wife occupied a one-room apartment at 16 Spiegelgasse, one of the numerous alleys, scarcely six feet wide, in the workmen's quarter of Zurich. They had for their neighbors in the same house the wife of a German baker and her family, an Italian family, and an Austrian actor and his wife. Each of the families occupied but a single room and each of the women went down into a common kitchen to cook. The landlord was a shoemaker. It was for his wife that Mme. Krupskaya has greatest praise:

We could not open our window until late into the night because right next to us was a sausage factory, and while they were at work there, handling the various kinds of rotten meats, the smell was unbearable. We could for the same money have obtained a better room. But Ilyitch (Lenin's middle name) refused to move. He liked the landlord and his wife. They held the same opinions about the war that we did. The landlady, in particular, was bitter about the slaughter of human beings, and often, when we women were gathered in the kitchen, each watching her own pot, she would give vent to her feelings. Then, too, there was a workman's café, Zum Adler, in the neighborhood, where Lenin liked to spend the evening conversing with the workmen. Occasionally he would deliver a little talk before them.

STIRRED BY RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Into this atmosphere word came of the Russian revolution:

About 9 o'clock one morning, just as Ilyitch and I were getting ready to start for the public library, Comrade Bronsky rushed in, all out of breath, with the news that a revolution had broken out in Russia. We did not go to the library, but instead strolled about the lake until the newspapers began posting their bulletins. The bulletins were spelling out the events of the revolution. It was serious. "We must try to go home, somehow," Ilyitch announced.

That afternoon Lenin sent a wire to Zinoviev in Berne summoning him to Zurich for a conference. Zinoviev thus describes his visit to the leader:

I remember walking with him through the streets of Zurich. It was a beautiful day. The sun was pouring down a mellow warmth.

But we felt as if we were in a prison, locked with seven locks. Vladimir Ilyitch was making plans for getting out of the country, but as fast as he made them he discarded them. There were political complications in every one of these plans. We were surrounded by warring countries as if with an iron ring.

One of the plans made by Lenin to escape from Switzerland was to smuggle himself across Germany to the Russian border. Revolutionists were not unfamiliar with smugglers and their ways, for they had often had to resort to them to get in or out of Russia. It was different now, however; war was on and the smuggler of four or five years back might be in the employ of the German Government and might betray his client. Lenin was dissuaded therefore from taking such a step.

Another plan, to escape by the air route, was abandoned as impractical. Finally Lenin hit upon a new possibility. He sent out letters and telegrams to friends asking if it would be feasible to bring about an exchange of prisoners between Germany and Russia, or rather the release of German prisoners in return for Germany's willingness to let him and his party pass through the fatherland on their way to Russia? This, like all the other plans, proved sterile, and Lenin paced up and down the streets of Zurich like a caged lion.

One night, Mme. Lenin narrates, her husband woke her out of her sleep. He had found a way to get to Russia, he told her excitedly. He would obtain a passport to Sweden as a Swedish subject. The difficulty of his not speaking a word of Swedish he would get around by feigning that he was dumb while his train was passing through Germany. Mme. Lenin gave the matter some thought. "It might be all right," she said finally, "provided you manage to keep awake all the time you are in Germany. But supposing you doze off and begin to talk in your sleep as is your habit, calling out such words as 'Svolotch! svolotch!' (scoundrels, scoundrels!)" Lenin laughed, and with this the project to get to Russia by posing as a dumb Swede was at an end.

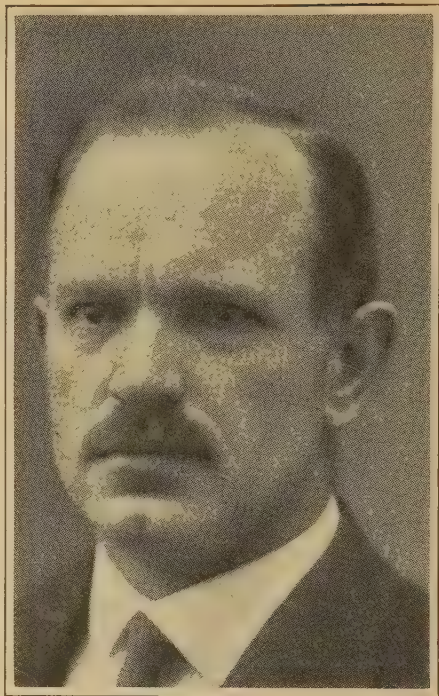
APPEAL TO GERMAN GOVERNMENT

After much discussion Lenin and his fellow exiles decided to take the most direct approach in the matter, namely, to endeavor to obtain permission from the German Government to pass through that country on their way to Russia. Zinoviev, Radek and Mme. Krupskaya all testify that Lenin weighed this step carefully, knowing that it would lay him open to a great many misconceptions and wrong interpretations. When he finally decided that there was no other way open to him, he permitted his associates to approach the German authorities. The negotiations with the German Government are described by Radek as follows:

When Vladimir Ilyitch came to the conclusion that it was hopeless to rely upon the allied powers to permit him and his comrades to pass through their countries, there remained for him the choice of one of two courses: Either to try to cross Germany in some illegal manner or to do it with the knowledge of the German Government. To cross Germany illegally involved serious risks and almost certain failure. If the Bolsheviks could effect with the German Government some sort of arrangement for crossing the country legally, this arrangement must be absolutely open and above board, in order that it might not be used later against the leader of the proletarian revolution. All of us were for an open arrangement.

In accordance with instructions from Lenin, Levi (a member of the German Spartacus group who just then happened to be passing through Switzerland) and I sought out the representative of the Frankfurter Zeitung, whom we knew, and talked the matter over with him. If I am not mistaken, the name of this newspaper man was Dr. Dengard. Through him we inquired of Dr. von Romberg, the German Ambassador, whether Germany would permit Russian émigrés returning home to pass through her territory. Von Romberg, in turn, made inquiries of the Foreign Office in Berlin, and received an affirmative answer.

We then worked out the conditions on which we would insist if we passed through Germany. The most important of these were as follows: The German Government was to let through all those wishing to go to Russia without asking their names. [This condition



ROBERT GRIMM

The member of the Swiss Parliament who negotiated with the German Government the arrangement whereby Lenin was able to return to Russia.

was imposed mainly to smuggle through Karl Radek, who was an Austrian subject and whom the Germans, had they known his identity, might have taken off the train and turned over to the military authorities of their ally, Austria.] Those going through Germany were to enjoy extra-territorial rights and no one was to be permitted to enter into any conversations with them. We submitted these conditions to the German Ambassador at Berne through the Swiss Socialist Deputy, Robert Grimm, who was the Secretary of the Zimmerwald conference, and Fritz Platen, who shared our Bolshevik views. We met them, after their conference with von Romberg, at the People's House. Grimm told us that the German Ambassador was very much surprised when he read our demands to him.

"Excuse me," Grimm quoted the German Ambassador as saying. "As I understand it, it is not I who am applying for permission to go to Russia, but Mr. Ulianov (Lenin) and his friends who ask permission from me to pass through Germany. It is we who have the right to impose conditions." The Amba-



FRITZ PLATEN

The Swiss Socialist who accompanied Lenin in the "sealed train" across Germany

sador, none the less, forwarded our conditions to Berlin.

To the conferences that followed we sent only Comrade Platen. Lenin insisted on this for the following reason: Grimm, in a conversation, had dropped the remark that he would prefer to conduct the negotiations alone, as Platen, although a good comrade, was a poor diplomat. "And no one can tell what may yet come out of these negotiations," Grimm had added. Vladimir Ilyitch gave Grimm a prolonged and careful look, screwing up his eyes a bit, as was his habit. After Grimm had left he said: "It is most important that Grimm be eliminated from further negotiations. He is capable, out of sheer vanity, to begin some sort of a conversation about peace with Germany and get us into a mess." Thereupon we thanked Grimm and told him that, as he was a very busy man, we did not wish to trouble him further. Lenin's presentiment in the matter, as is now well known, fully justified itself later, when Grimm, who continued to carry on conversations with Germany, this time in behalf of Martov (the Menshevist leader, who died recently) and his group, injected into the conversations in Switzerland the question of peace terms.

The Germans, who hoped that we, as Bol-

sheviki, would on our return to Russia become opponents of the war, agreed to our conditions. To the gentlemen who, to the present day, continue to calumniate the Bolsheviks on that score I would recommend a reading of Ludendorff's memoirs. The German General is now tearing his hair because he agreed to let us pass through Germany, realizing full well now that by this act he advanced not the cause of German imperialism, but that of world revolution.

RETURN ON "SEALED TRAIN"

The purely human side of the journey across the Fatherland in the "sealed train" is not without interest. Radek describes it in part as follows:

We came in a Swiss train to the border, where it was necessary to change for the German train. It was a tense moment. German officers were awaiting us. They showed us into the Custom House, where they were to count their nameless passengers. In view of the agreement entered into, they did not ask for our passports. They divided the men from the women and put them at opposite sides of the table, as if afraid lest some one of us should take from them a German fraulein and leave in exchange a Bolshevik agitator. They were there to make sure that not a revolutionary germ was left behind.

We stood there silent. The atmosphere about us was so tense that it was painful. Vladimir Ilyitch was surrounded by several comrades. We were anxious not to have attention drawn to him. A woman comrade, a member of the Bund, had with her her four-year-old son. She stood the youngster up on the table beside her. Apparently the atmosphere had affected the child, for he suddenly broke the deadly silence with a thin but clear childish voice, asking in Yiddish: "Mamele, vusi dues?" (Mother, what is this?)

At last we were in the train and it began to move. Vladimir Ilyitch went to work. In Karlsruhe Fritz Platen, who had accompanied us, to make sure of fair play by the German authorities, came in and said that Jonson, a member of the German Federation of Trade Unions, wished to enter the train to greet Lenin. Lenin told Platen to send Jonson to the "devil's grandmother." It was no easy matter to get rid of Jonson, but Platen finally managed it. In Frankfurt the train made a lengthy stop and soldiers were placed on guard around it. Suddenly this military chain was broken and German workmen, Social-Democrats, who had heard that the train was carrying home Russian revolutionists who stood for

peace, came rushing into the train with jugs of cold beer. With indescribable eagerness they asked us whether there was going to be peace and how soon. This showed us the state of affairs in Germany much more clearly than was good for the German Government. We saw no one else the rest of the way.

THE ARRIVAL IN RUSSIA

The returning exiles crossed Germany to Sweden, where they were met by Ganetsky. After a brief stay there the party moved on to the Russian border. On Russian soil Kerensky's soldiers met Lenin and his party. The soldiers formed a guard about them. Was it a friendly or a hostile guard? Zinoviev gives a picture of the state of mind of the group of returning exiles:

All of us were positive that on our arrival in Petrograd we would be arrested. Lenin, in particular, was certain that such would be the case. He warned us about it and we all signed a document stating that we were ready to go to prison and answer before any court for our action in going across Germany.

We reached Beloostrov. To our surprise, officials here greeted us in a friendly way. The commandant, a Kerensky officer, even saluted Lenin. Here, too, our nearest friends met us. Among them were Kamenev and Stalin. In the poorly lit third-class compartment Lenin asked questions, hungrily. "Shall we be arrested on our arrival?" he asked. Our friends gave no definite answer, but there was an enigmatic smile on their faces. We reached the Finland station at Leningrad toward evening. Then the enigmatic smile of our comrades became clear to us. Not arrest, but triumph, awaited us. The place was ablaze with light. A long chain of soldiers formed a guard of honor. Beyond them were tens of thousands of workmen. A band played the "International." A delegation from the Soviet, headed by Tchekhidze, came into our coupé to greet Lenin. An armored automobile was waiting. Lenin was hustled into the car. A triumphal procession to the Ksheshinsky Palace began.

Such is the story of the return of Nikolai Lenin to Russia as told by his closest associates. It is a story filled with dramatic interest in view of sub-

sequent events. News of the return centered the gaze of Europe and of the whole civilized world on the bedraggled band of exiles who had been as nothing and who returned to their native land as conquerors. The reactions of Western Europe ranged between amazement and dismay. Lenin had repeatedly attacked the World War as "imperialistic," and he was known as an ultra-pacifist. Because of this the allied countries, Great Britain, France and Italy, had closed their frontiers against him. The Russian revolution had brought no relaxation of this inexorable boycott. Now Lenin had escaped from Switzerland through the aid of the Allies' worst foe, offered with the deliberate purpose of demoralizing the Russian Army by inoculating it with pacifist poison in order to smooth the way for the triumphant progress of German militarism. Ludendorff shared in the project and the German General Staff placed the seal of its approval on this strategy. The consternation of the allied statesmen was understandable.

Like many another move of the Germans during the war, however, the Lenin incident took a turn entirely at variance with what the Imperial German Government had expected. Lenin's arrival in Russia was followed by months of agitation that ended in the overthrow of the mildly Socialistic Government of Lvov and Kerensky and in the establishment of a Bolshevik régime. Germany's act had given communism its greatest impetus. The epithets of "traitor" and "German agent" were hurled at Lenin in the various countries of Europe. As was inevitable, however, the criticism for the Lenin train incident ultimately came back to rest on the shoulders of the German General Staff. Ludendorff not long ago was sharply censured on the floor of the Reichstag for his share in this disastrous piece of foreign policy, the consequences of which are still immeasurable.

Drug Smuggling From Canada

By WILLIAM J. McNULTY

American Newspaper Correspondent, Editor and Author, Resident of Eastern Canada, With an Intimate Knowledge of the Drug Smuggling Industry Over the Canadian Line.

OF all the enormous quantities of drugs smuggled annually into the United States, 75 per cent. is transported across the border from Canada. Through the Canadian ports of St. John, Halifax and Montreal come veritable deluges of narcotics from Europe. The traffic via the port of Montreal is limited to the Summer season, but the remaining ports are open all the year, and are therefore favored. Smaller ports are also utilized, such as Sydney, Digby, Yarmouth, Lunenburg, Chatham, Shelburne and St. Andrews.

Most of the important drug trafficking groups have established receiving stations in at least one of the Canadian ports. Very often the station is in the guise of a clothing factory, of the sweat shop category; or, perchance, it is outwardly a motion picture film exchange; or, again, the headquarters may be maintained in a flat leased by one of the gangs. The drug carriers on the steamers are usually camouflaged as employees, such as seamen, stokers, porters and the like, if males. If females, they are usually passengers. There have been as many as ten carriers for one gang on one steamer arriving at the Port of St. John; each of these carriers bore a body belt containing a dozen compartments, each of which was filled with cocaine; secret pockets in their clothing also contained cocaine. This shipment alone was disposed of at a profit of \$50,000 to the gang; furthermore, there are very few steamers arriving at any Atlantic port in Canada on which there is not at least one drug carrier.

The sailing vessels are not so popular with the drug smugglers, owing to the

length of the voyage across the Atlantic and the great risk of loss at sea. However, some of the gangs have chartered large schooners for single trips and for stipulated periods when smuggling in bulk. A steamer or vessel of any kind clearing from an English, Irish, Welsh or Scottish port is subjected to very little scrutiny by Canadian customs officials. The duty on British goods is comparatively small. Sailing vessels have made trips across the ocean with lumber and then accepted cargoes of Welsh or Scotch coal, salt, or general cargo for the return voyage. The drugs are concealed in the cargo, and safely landed in Canada. Not long ago one four-masted schooner, which appeared to be fully laden with coal, proved to be in reality a drug-smuggling craft with packages of cocaine and morphine hidden in the coal. The value of the narcotic shipment was estimated at \$250,000. The value of the coal was less than \$4,000. Every ounce of this drug shipment was transported into the United States by motor cars.

In the past drug smugglers have been recognized as maintaining, by virtue of an unwritten law in the underworld, an exclusive control over drug smuggling. Now, however, a new element, attracted by the immense profits, has been injected into the traffic. This element comprises the whisky, gin and brandy smuggling gangs. Convinced that narcotics and liquor can be smuggled jointly into the United States, these groups are now in keen competition with the pioneer drug smugglers. It is estimated that the volume of drugs smuggled into the United States from Canada during 1924 will exceed that of any

previous year by approximately 50 per cent., owing to the general participation of the liquor smugglers in the "dope" traffic. Instead of being wholly laden with liquor, or with what was alleged to be liquor, the motor cars and trucks of the liquor smuggling syndicates now carry liquor and drugs on the same expeditions. The drug smugglers have found the smuggling into the United States of cocaine and other drugs to be more profitable even than liquor running; moreover the narcotics are less bulky and consequently easier to handle than the liquors.

The entrance of the liquor gangs into the realm which the drug smugglers had looked on as theirs, to have and to hold, has aroused keen resentment among the pioneers in narcotic running. Motor cars speeding toward the international boundary with drugs and liquor have been attacked by bands of thugs, sponsored by the "originals." The drugs have been seized and the occupants of the cars beaten.

One drug smuggling syndicate which operates sales agencies in Boston, New York, Chicago and St. Louis, has been using Hindu stokers as drug carriers for the transatlantic trip. One of these sold all the cocaine and morphine he had been carrying to a rival gang. Although the lot was worth not less than \$2,000 at the prices demanded of drug addicts in the United States, the Hindu sold the narcotics for \$200. He had been promised \$50 if he delivered the cocaine and morphine to an emissary of the gang after the arrival of the steamer in St. John. The action of the Hindu was

reported to his compatriots in the stoke hole of the steamer. They were told that unless an example was made of the offender they would not be used in the future as carriers by the gang. The night before the date announced for the sailing of the steamship on the return trip to England the Hindu's mutilated body was found in a churchyard, near the steamship dock. There were seven knife wounds in the body. His fellow countrymen had vindicated the Hindu honor and retained their posts as narcotic carriers on the sea. There were no arrests, the local police being powerless.

That men identified with political organizations and having influence with the "powers that be" are interested in many of the gangs devoted to drug smuggling is generally known. It is established that one of the most powerful of the gangs expends from \$50,000 upward annually for "protection." This "protection" is guaranteed on both sides of the international line. Dave Stone, who was known by many aliases, boasted that he could not be held in prison because of his "drag with the higher ups." Stone was killed in an



A million dollars worth of smuggled drugs seized in a single raid in Philadelphia

attempt to steal \$107,000 from the Bank of Hochelaga in Montreal, his gang having turned bank thieves on the spur of the moment; the money was stolen, but recovered in part. Stone maintained his headquarters in Montreal during the Summer season, and when navigation closed on the St. Lawrence River he removed to St. John, N. B.

Before his final adventure, Stone declared that he had the right of way over justice. As a proof he cited his many contacts with the law in various States and Provinces. Although he had been sentenced to as many as twelve years in prison, he had never served more than six months continuously in his whole life. For many years he operated out of New York City, but later he removed to Canada, where his smuggling activities were less restricted. Were it not for the fact that Stone was a pronounced addict, he would never have been even arrested.

CUSTOMS OFFICERS HELPLESS

There is no section of the international boundary regarded as hazardous by the smuggler of narcotics; the section recognized by all as the safest, however, is that extending from the Atlantic, westward as far as Rouse's Point. The customs officers are so few that they scarcely attempt to intercept the speeding motor cars which flash by under cover of darkness. The officials realize that murder means very little to the men in these cars. All the smugglers are heavily armed; besides firearms, they carry blackjacks, loaded clubs, missiles and even red pepper. Scores of customs officers have been assaulted and some will never recover. Two have died from injuries.

It is difficult for customs officers to detect drug carriers on the trains, but much could be accomplished in the way of reducing the amount of "dope" brought in by railway, by maintaining a secret intelligence staff. Secret agents could obtain descriptions of the carriers on the trains. They could also extract information regarding shipments planned from some of the gang em-

ployes. Two-thirds of the employes of drug smuggling syndicates can be bought. The liquor crooks have found this out and are making the most of it; but they have also found that they must watch their own employes very closely. The Departments of Justice and the Treasury can cooperate in an effort to cope with the drug smuggling evil; despite the increase in the number of addicts and the veritable avalanche of narcotics, however, no tangible attempt to combat the traffic has been made either by the American or the Canadian authorities.

The number of drug addicts both in the United States and Canada is greatly increasing each year; but the Governments continue engrossed in property rights and oblivious of human rights. The League of Nations has pointed out repeatedly that fleets of sailing vessels and steam craft have been landing drug cargoes in Canada, but has confessed its inability to cope with the evil. Not all the narcotics are transported from Canada to the United States by land; motorboats, coastwise sailing vessels and steamships have been utilized. Liquor smugglers who own motorboats, schooners and steamers have found them valuable to carry also large quantities of drugs. These boats operate between ports along the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic seaboard of Nova Scotia, to points along the New England coast. There is one gang operating through Canadian ports which specializes in supplying physicians with narcotics, chiefly cocaine and morphine. Physicians in hundreds of cities and towns in the United States are on the lists of this group. One of the leaders in the gang has disclosed in confidence that the number of physicians buying drugs is growing yearly to an alarming extent. Whereas ten years ago the gang was supplying physicians in only larger cities, such as New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, St. Louis and Cleveland, sales are now being made in cities of small population in more than twenty-five States and eleven Provinces. Sales are even being

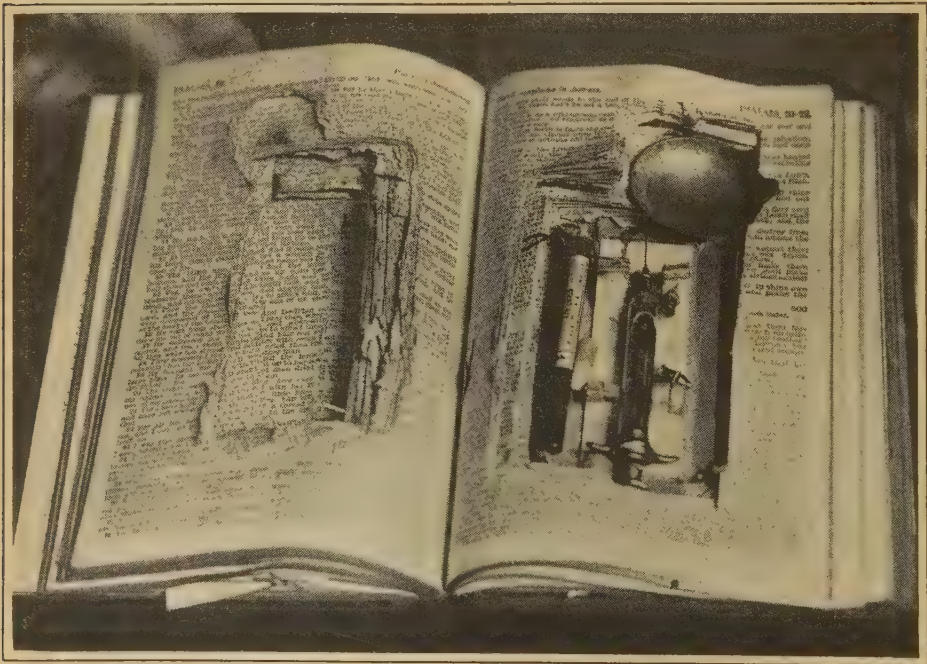
made in small towns and villages. Unscrupulous physicians are blamed for the spread of the drug habit in the small centres. The tremendous profit which accrues has drawn this element into the traffic.

Druggists, physicians, lawyers, bootleggers, gamblers, are interested in one of the really big narcotic smuggling syndicates. This group consists of twelve operators under the name of a wholesale drug company in New York City and has ramifications extending to the Pacific Coast. Most of these persons are not registered as druggists; they buy a drug store although they do not possess even an elementary pharmaceutical knowledge.

In many cities the drug smugglers are in league with heads of police departments. In the Canadian cities where the gangs maintain their headquarters, detectives, captains and chiefs of police have fraternized with the traffickers. Peddlers of drugs escape with fines of \$200 or less. More narcotics are now

being sold in one week in Canada than in an entire year before 1920. Sporadic arrests are made, but there is no sustained effort to suppress either the smuggling or the peddling of the narcotics. In some centres the drug gangs pay fines of \$200 every four months.

Four years ago the organizer of one of the gangs was a gambler in New York City. He was trafficking in narcotics as a side line. His gross wealth was estimated at about \$3,000. He removed his headquarters to Canada and widened his scope in drugs. Now he is rated at not less than \$200,000. Subordinates in his gang have profited immensely also. He is interested in a chain of drug stores in the Eastern and New England States. With no investment whatever, a New York politician has profited to the extent of \$100,000 from this gang in three years, the payments being for "protection." This self-same "protection" is costly, but is necessary to the life of a drug



Smuggling device seized by the Narcotic Division of the United States Treasury Department: Pages of a Bible hollowed out to make a cavity in which to carry drugs

gang. One year ago a gang was formed with a Chicago man as the manager. This group cleared \$150,000 in the first twelve months of operation. Another gang which sells chiefly in New England realized \$200,000 in one year, this profit being equally divided between four men. There are even greater returns in handling narcotics than in liquor; at least 1,000 per cent. profit is made on each shipment. In fact, wealthy addicts will pay whatever prices are demanded. There are no market prices for cocaine, morphine or opium. A gang with a large number of wealthy "clients" is looked on as very fortunate among narcotic crooks.

There is one important advantage that certain of the liquor gangs have over the purely "dope" groups. The former control at least one seaplane each. One of the cliques has allotted the seaplane to the transportation of narcotics solely. This seaplane makes regular trips from points along the Bay of Fundy to points along the New England coast. On the plane are the pilot and a guard. Very large quantities of narcotics can be smuggled into the United States by means of the aircraft. Outwardly, the planes are pleasure machines.

Despite the huge increases yearly in the quantities of cocaine, morphine and opium smuggled into the United States, the demand is greater than the supply; the drug gangs are now planning increased activities in order to cope with the demand. Arrangements are being made for increased supplies of drugs from the buyers of the different gangs in Europe. One of the gangs has a staff of four men located in London and Paris who do all the buying and who also arrange for the shipments on the steamers to Canadian ports. These men cover most of Europe in their

travels. Not all the gangs maintain staffs of narcotic buyers in Europe. Some buy through central agencies, which guarantee safe delivery to carriers on the steamers or sailing vessels. This method has proved much more expensive than that of maintaining buying bureaus.

In some instances captains, first officers, second officers and chief engineers of ocean steamers serve as carriers of the drugs. One of the gangs is supplied by two captains and two first officers. Numerous tramp steamers of British, Scandinavian, United States, French and German registry are owned outright by "dope" gangs; at least ten steamers were taken over by the narcotic smugglers during 1924. These are not first-class steamships; they are freighters and some are of rather ancient vintage. Others, however, are valuable ships, although of comparatively small tonnage; the cargoes carried are merely side lines, but form an excellent means of shielding the real mission of the steamers from the eye of the law. The drug smugglers have experienced no difficulty in securing employes, but the task of acquiring honest and trustworthy employes has been an arduous one indeed. Eighty per cent. of the employes are drug addicts.

This, then, is the drug smuggling situation on the "most perfect international border in the world." Governmental indifference on the part of both Canada and the United States and also lax legislation and inadequate means of enforcing such laws as are already on the statute books, are responsible for the present condition. Prompt and effective official action is imperative if the peoples of North America are to be protected from the ever-increasing menace of drug slavery.

Recent Scientific Developments

By WATSON DAVIS
Managing Editor, Science Service.

IT is hard to arrive at an appreciation of the immense distances that stretch out on every side of the earth. The sun is a very great distance away, some 92,900,000 miles. The earth is less than 8,000 miles in diameter. Yet the nearest star, Alpha Centauri, is 275,000 times more distant than the sun. Radio waves and light travel at the same speed, 186,000 miles per second, practically instantaneous so far as ordinary broadcasting and seeing are concerned, yet when we look up into the heavens we must realize that it takes time to see. Light from that nearest star requires four and one-third years to reach the earth.

The latest announcements from the Harvard College Observatory stimulate the imagination. Investigations there under Dr. Harlow Shapley, director, have been centred upon the Magellanic Clouds, great masses of stars and other heavenly bodies far beyond the Milky Way. These are visible only in the southern hemisphere and they are named after the great explorer and navigator, Magellan, who described them and also left his name on the southernmost straits of South America. The Harvard astronomers have discovered that the bright stars of the Magellanic Clouds are larger and brighter than any of the giant stars heretofore known to astronomers. The planet Jupiter swings around the sun nearly 400,000,000 miles further out from the sun than the earth. Yet if one of the Magellanic Cloud stars were set down with its centre at the sun, five of the planets—Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars and Jupiter—would be engulfed within it. Through a prolonged study of the variable stars in the small Magellanic Cloud it has been possible to determine its distance and its diameter. It has been found that it takes light 6,500 years to go from one side of it to the

other. It takes light 100,000 years to travel from the cloud to the earth. If our sun were placed in the Magellanic Cloud even the most powerful and modern telescopes known to man would be unable to bring it within human vision. In the Magellanic Cloud there are undoubtedly many hundreds of stars just as large and bright as our sun, all undetectable by the largest telescope on earth.

The studies of brightness on the Harvard photographs, which were made at the Arequipa (Peru) station of the Harvard Observatory, embrace only to the stars of the eighteenth magnitude. More than half a million stars that are at least a hundred times as luminous as our sun are contained in the small Magellanic Cloud. A few hundred of them have each more than ten thousand times the solar brightness. The very brightest of the super-giants are shown by photographs of their spectra to be of the redder classes of color, which means that the intensity of light emission must be low. Thus, to account for such high total brightness, the dimensions must be exceedingly great, and it is calculated that the diameters of the largest super-giants are nearly a thousand million miles. This is at least three or four times the diameter of Betelgeuse, and is very probably very near the maximum diameter possible for a luminous star.

The small Magellanic Cloud is known to be receding from the galaxy with the enormous velocity of a hundred miles a second. Dr. Shapley points out that almost certainly both the clouds of Magellan were in the Milky Way at a time more recent than the Paleozoic era and were then indistinguishable from the other star clouds of the Milky Way.

By another scientist we are told that space is limited, although it is bound-

less. Dr. Ludvig Silberstein of Rochester, N. Y., has announced the radius of the universe at 114,000,000 light years. This result was deduced from the observed shift toward the blue and toward the red of the spectrum lines of sixteen globular star clusters, two Magellanic clouds and one nebula, the most distant objects visible, all over 33,000 light years away. Such a shift, called the Doppler effect, has been interpreted by astronomers as indicating that the stars were moving toward or away from us. But a small part of it may be due, according to Einstein, to an apparent slowing down of the period of light waves from very massive sources.

Dr. Silberstein based his calculations on the conception of the Dutch astronomer, De Sitter, who regards the universe as a sort of sphere of four dimensions, three being space dimensions and the fourth being time. Such a spherical universe has no boundary and any point in it can be equally well regarded as the centre. Lines starting out straight in all directions from a point extend to the most distant plane, called the polar, and then return to the original point. The straightest line in such a spherical universe is a closed curve of very great but still finite total length. Dr. Silberstein figures that the greatest possible distance between two points by the straightest line, which is one-half that total length, is 180,000,000 light years. A light year is 63,000 times the distance of the sun from the earth, or six trillion miles. You would not run against a wall when you reached that limit, but if you continued straight ahead in the same direction you would be approaching your starting point from the other side.

These ideas seem strange as applied to the universe, yet they are familiar as applied to our earth. The earth's surface is unbounded, yet finite and measurable. The straightest line on the earth is a great circle. Start out from any point in any direction and travel as straight as you can and you can never get more than 12,000 miles away, for if

you walk further in the same direction you get nearer home. The earth's surface has no end and no centre, for it is curved spherically in the third dimension. So the universe, according to the relativity theory, is curved spherically in the fourth dimension. Like the earth, the universe is not a perfect sphere, but is irregular—corrugated, as it were—owing to the mass and motion of the matter it contains. The length of the radius of curvature of the universe in miles, as calculated by Dr. Silberstein, is represented by the figure 67 followed by nineteen zeros.

Although the public was much more excited than the astronomers about the recent close approach of Mars to the earth, one investigation of the earth's sister planet has given us some idea of the temperature on Mars. Dr. W. W. Coblentz of the Bureau of Standards, working at the Lowell Observatory, Flagstaff, Ariz., an institution long famous for its study of the red planet, found that the distribution of heat upon the surface is not unlike that on earth. The surface of Mars is cooler in the morning and hotter after the sun has shone upon it. The polar caps are cold as ice, the dark areas are hotter than the bright areas. Dr. Coblentz estimates the temperature under a high sun on Mars to be equal to that of a warm Summer day on earth. He used a sensitive thermopile in making measurements of the heat received from the planet's surface. Employing various screens to eliminate some kinds of light and concentrating upon various parts of the surface, he has been able to obtain an idea of the heat distribution upon the planet.

There is more news this month in the solar system. Encke's comet, the most frequent of such visitors in the solar family, has been sighted at the Yerkes Observatory. This is the forty-second return of the comet since it was first discovered in 1786. It is remarkable for its short period of revolution around the sun—about three and a third years—and especially for the peculiar variations in that period. No other

comet returns at such short intervals to the vicinity of the sun, though many of them make closer approaches. At its greatest distance Encke's comet is 400,000,000 miles from the sun, nearly out to the orbit of Jupiter. At perihelion, when nearest the sun, it is within the orbit of Mercury, about 30,000,000 miles from the sun's surface.

Though discovered and lost two or three times in the eighteenth century, it was not until about a hundred years ago that Encke's mathematical studies connected the various discoveries and revealed the nature of the orbit and period. The investigations by Encke and later astronomers showed that, after making allowance for the disturbing effects of near-by planets, the period of revolution is continuously decreasing by approximately two and a half hours each revolution. Russian astronomers in particular have paid close attention to this phenomenon. The only satisfactory explanation is that the comet is hindered by obstructing matter as it moves through space. The resisting medium acts in a somewhat paradoxical manner. The comet tends to fall toward the sun when its motion is hindered, taking up a new position where the natural speed is greater. The obstruction, therefore, makes the comet go more rapidly and shortens its period of revolution. Whether this resisting medium is of the nature of a swarm of meteors, or is material more uniformly distributed throughout space, astronomers cannot tell. Other comets, however, have not suffered such pronounced changes of period, and this indicates that the disturbing factor is not widespread throughout the solar system. Encke's comet is not likely to be a conspicuous object on this visit, for it is one of the smaller bodies of its kind. It very frequently misses discovery upon its return to the neighborhood of the earth and the sun. It is now of the sixteenth magnitude, therefore visible only with the greatest telescopes.

In the field of food research, where progress is particularly rapid at the present time, it is likely that an impor-

tant discovery has been made. Dr. Harry Steenbock of the University of Wisconsin has discovered that foods given a sun bath are as effective in preventing and curing rickets as foods rich in the antirachitic vitamin. As a result of experiments he has found that merely placing food in the sunlight will endow it with growth-promoting properties supposed to be possessed only by foods rich in vitamins, in spite of the fact that "irradiated" or "illuminated" foods may contain no vitamins before exposure to the light. Hundreds of rats were used experimentally. Rickets was produced in these animals by first feeding rations known to produce this disease. Then they were cured by feeding them with exactly the same ration which had been exposed to sunlight. For man these findings have particular value because prominent medical authorities have found that in northern climates 40 to 90 per cent. of the children in industrial areas show signs of rickets. Such a condition, though sel-



One of the wonderful ice formations of Mount Everest's glaciers. Some of the pinnacles formed by the cracking and twisting of the ice are as high as 400 feet

dom fatal, leads to more or less permanent abnormalities such as bowed legs, deformed chests and poor teeth, due to the inability of the child to assimilate lime. By exposing them to sunlight, cereal grains, breakfast foods, salad oil, cooking fats, oleomargarines and modified infant foods may all be made protective agents without affecting their taste, and apparently this property is not destroyed by aging. In the past cod-liver oil has been the standard remedy for rickets, but as a result of Dr. Steenbock's experiments it may become possible to dispense with this remedy, which has been tolerated rather than relished. Olive oil and lard, as well as other plant and animal fats, can be made as active as cod-liver oil by Dr. Steenbock's method.

In May of this year peaceful Kilauea, the Hawaiian volcano, produced an explosive eruption quite comparable to the eruptions of Vesuvius. Dr. T. A. Jaggar, who is director of the Volcano Observatory near Kilauea, in explaining the cause of the activity, pointed out that it had not been wholly unforeseen, for natives had been killed by a blast from Kilauea 134 years ago. The year 1920 produced tremendous lava flows; for the next four years the lava sank lower and lower within the mountain, and in 1924 the famous fire pit of Kilauea collapsed violently so as to plug the accumulated gases beneath, and a terrible explosion ensued. That the lava sank so low as to let the rain water underground close over the crack containing the glowing slag is the probable explanation. There is a great sea of underground water in all lands. In Hawaii the rocks are so porous that this water stands inside the island at a very low level, so low that it cannot be reached by ordinary wells, but flows out as sea-level springs. Ordinarily the

lava column at Kilauea crater must cover itself with a shell of hardened slag in the shaft beneath the volcanic vent and keep the water out by evaporating it with its heat.

This year, however, there was a swarm of earthquakes in Puna, at the east end of Hawaii. The ground cracked open in huge crevasses, as though a lava flow were going to break out at sea level. The ground, however, subsided. Then the fire pit, 3,700 feet higher, near the summit of the mountain, began to cave in, great black clouds of avalanche dust shot upward, the pit grew bigger and bigger, steam appeared and then the black clouds thundered and hurled out huge broken rocks without a particle of fresh lava. It was just as though the pit had been converted into an upright quarry with big blasts let off at intervals of about six hours. Boulders weighing ten tons were hurled hundreds of feet from the explosion centre. Dust curdled into rain clouds and came down as mud balls. Gutters on the hotel roofs broke down with the weight of rock powder. A man trying to photograph the pit at close range was killed by a barrage of boulders. The eruption lasted two weeks and the great cauldron left was 3,500 feet long and 1,300 feet deep. Dr. Jaggar concludes that such explosive eruption is a secondary matter occasioned by the plugging of the vent, the closing in of the underground waters and the consequent development of enormous steam pressure. The interesting feature of this is that the water explanation accounts not for ordinary lava activity but only for the exceptional crises of explosion. Explosive eruption at a lava volcano is a secondary phenomenon, and primary volcanism may be fundamentally dependent on hydrogen and other deep gases.



A Month's World History

Continued from Page 14

Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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PRESIDENT OBREGON in his final presidential message, read to Congress on Sept. 1, outlined the chief acts of his administration for the past four years. He declared that peace had been consolidated throughout the country; that the Government had fostered equitable distribution of the national resources; that the position of the working classes had been visibly bettered; and that the Government had sustained more efficient union organization, wider education and freedom of the press. Full desires for the aggrandizement of the nation had not been realized, owing to the de la Huerta revolution. In this rebellion 56,000 men, including 25,000 traitors from the army, took part, and to suppress it cost the Government in excess of 60,000,000 pesos, including about 10,000,000 pesos' worth of arms, munitions and other equipment. The statement was made that the army had been reduced to 55,000 and that back salaries of Government employes had been covered to date.

President Obregón referred in some detail to the events leading up to the virtual expulsion of British Chargé des Archives Cummins from Mexico last June; also to the murder of Mrs. Rosalie Evans and the results that the investigations concerning it had revealed. With the exception of Great Britain and Venezuela, President Obregón stated that Mexico was enjoying cordial relations with all countries. The British Government was expected to recognize Mexico shortly. Relations with the United States, he said, had not only "been consolidated in a cordial and friendly fashion, but greater compre-

hension and a better spirit of understanding have facilitated the restoration of a normal and complete friendship which without doubt will bring about more efficient dealings between the two Governments."

The Permanent Commission of the Chamber of Deputies and the Deputies unopposed in the last election met as an electoral college on Aug. 15 to examine the credentials of newly elected Deputies and to pass on contests for seats. The proceedings were complicated by the fact that at the time General Calles's supporters were openly split on the matter of representation in the Chamber of Deputies of the Socialist, Agrarian and Labor parties, all pro-Calles and all seeking to put their own candidates into office. As a result it appeared for a time that contested elections would prevent the approval of a sufficient number of credentials of Deputies to make possible the inauguration of the thirty-first Congress on Sept. 2. These fears were allayed, however, when the confederated socialistic bloc, supporting General Calles in the Chamber of Deputies, forced through approval of the credentials of 123 Deputies at one time on Aug. 29. This gave nearly a two-thirds majority in the Chamber of Deputies and permitted the opening of the regular session of Congress. The Senate which is strongly pro-Calles, had no difficulty in obtaining a quorum.

The Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs on Aug. 8 advised United States Charge d'Affaires Schoenfeld that information had been received "from the competent authorities that yesterday the criminals Francisco Ruiz and Alejo García, detained as supposedly respon-

sible for the death of Mrs. Rosalie Evans, spontaneously confessed their guilt." The following day President Obregón expressed satisfaction that the assassination of Mrs. Evans had been shown to have been the work of ordinary criminals and that efforts of political enemies to turn the incident against both the Agrarian Party and the Administration had been of no avail. At the same time President Obregón denounced particularly as unfounded the accusation that General Manuel Montes, Agrarian leader and candidate for the Federal Congress, was implicated in the case. Likewise President Obregón took occasion to reiterate that his Administration was deeply interested in bettering the economic and intellectual condition of the downtrodden Mexican working classes represented in the Agrarian movement.

The expropriation of lands by the Agrarians was reported on Aug. 14 to be causing the Obregón Government considerable embarrassment. At that time the Agrarians in three villages in the State of Hidalgo were reported to be in open rebellion and to have been fighting fiercely, with a number of dead and wounded as a result.

General Plutarco Elias Calles, President-elect of Mexico, arrived in the United States early in August en route to Europe to make a survey of social, labor and economic conditions in Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy. General Calles met Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City on Aug. 8. On that occasion General Calles declared that he had been elected President of Mexico "through the expressed will of the working classes." He asserted that all his actions as President "will be directed toward the betterment of the oppressed," to whom he said that he would "never be a traitor"; that his Government "with the new tendencies will be eminently constructive"; and that "with the workers of Mexico and the workers of the United States united it will be very hard for the capitalistic

forces of the country or whatever country to exploit and oppress my people." The following day, on the eve of sailing from New York, General Calles stated that he was absolutely in favor of oil companies owning property in Mexico and that there will be no disposition on the part of his Administration "when it takes office to take over the property of any American oil company. We welcome American capital as other capital in the development of Mexico." General Calles expressed the hope that he would see prohibition adopted in Mexico and that through the cooperation of Mexican and United States authorities he would be able to eliminate gambling along the border.

General Calles arrived in Berlin on Aug. 22. He was met at the railway station by Chancellor Marx and Minister of Foreign Relations Stresemann; a salute of nineteen guns was fired in his honor, and later in the day he was officially welcomed by the German President at a dinner given in his honor. General Calles on Sept. 4 told officials representing the Berlin Socialist Trade Unions that he had been elected President of Mexico by the labor vote and that he was in favor of an international eight-hour day.

The Special Claims Commission, provided for under the convention signed by the United States and Mexican Governments on Sept. 10, 1923, held its initial meeting in Mexico City on the afternoon of Aug. 18. Formal organization was effected in accordance with the convention, after which the Commission adjourned to meet on the morning of Aug. 20 for the purpose of considering rules of procedure. The Special Claims Commission will pass upon claims against Mexico of citizens of the United States for losses or damages suffered during the revolutionary period from Nov. 20, 1910, to May 31, 1920.

The first meeting of the General Claims Commission, provided for under the convention signed by the United States and Mexican Governments on Sept. 8, was held at the Pan-American Union Building in Washington on Aug.

30. United States Secretary of State Hughes opened the meeting with an address of welcome and other addresses were made by the members and agents of the Commission. The Commission then adjourned to meet on Sept. 3 for the purpose of beginning actual organization. The General Claims Commission will attempt to settle claims against Mexico of citizens of the United States and claims against the United States of citizens of Mexico that have arisen since July 4, 1868.

A recent report prepared by the Mexican Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor, denied that the oil industry of Mexico had reached its maximum production. The report stated that in 1923 Mexico produced 149,584,856 barrels of crude petroleum, or 14.8 per cent. of the total world production, with Mexico ranking second among oil producing companies. During the first six months of this year 170 wells were opened in the Mexican oil fields, with an initial daily production of 489,355 barrels. With these, Mexico has productive wells capable of yielding daily a total of 1,529,596 barrels. The report states that the investment made in the development of the petroleum industry in Mexico was \$796,400,000 (national gold), of which 23 per cent. was invested before 1917, and that the total sum of the value of petroleum produced in Mexico since 1901, when the petroleum industry started, was \$1,758,403,464 (national gold). According to the same report, petroleum exportations from Mexico during the first six months of 1924 totaled 71,231,066 barrels, or an increase of 306,429 barrels over the corresponding period last year.

Honduras

THE important Pacific Coast port of Amapala on Aug. 9 followed the action of former Minister of War Ferrera of two days earlier and rebelled against the Government headed by Provisional President Tosta. An official statement from Tegucigalpa on Aug. 10 asserted that Honduras was "enjoying relative calm," and that the

Government had under control the condition created by the rebellion of General Ferrera, who had fled to the mountains. Nevertheless, General Ferrera was reported on Aug. 14 to be entrenched with 1,200 men at Santa María in the Department of Intibucá, and on the same day the rebel General Fonseca looted Sabana Grande, midway between Tegucigalpa and the Pacific Coast. On Aug. 23 the revolutionists claimed to have occupied Santa Rosa, an important town in Western Honduras, and to have defeated other Government forces at and en route to Choluteca, in Southern Honduras. The United States Department of State on Aug. 29 confirmed the capture of Santa Rosa.

In Northern Honduras military activity has been marked since mid-August. The United States cruiser Galveston had arrived at La Ceiba by Aug. 16, with a consequent improvement of local conditions being reported by United States Consul Waller; on Aug. 23 the Tulsa was ordered to relieve the Galveston. The United States Department of State was advised on Aug. 22 that General Ferrera was marching on Siguatepeque, between Tegucigalpa and the north coast, and that he had probably been joined by General Fonseca and his forces from Choluteca. The Provisional Government on Aug. 27 was reported to be concentrating forces in San Pedro Sula, in Northern Honduras, and to be in control of the provinces of Villa and Choluteca. Rebel sources claimed to have won a victory in the Department of Intibucá and to have been joined by the garrisons of Marcola and Gracias. On Aug. 29 the United States Department of State announced that forces of General Ferrera were then marching on San Pedro Sula. United States Chargé d'Affaires Morgan advised martial law had been declared in Tegucigalpa on Aug. 28. Advices of Sept. 3 and Sept. 4 reported additional rebel victories at the important city of Santa Barbara and in Southern Honduras, and stated that the rebels were concentrating for the purpose of advancing on Tegucigalpa. Advices

from Nicaragua on Aug. 29 stated that representatives of the revolutionists and of the Provisional Government, at the request of the Diplomatic Corps in Tegucigalpa, had agreed to meet for the purpose of arranging a settlement of existing difficulties.

From Washington it was reported on Sept. 4 that the offer of the United States Government to aid in the settlement of the revolution had been accepted by the Tosta Provisional Government and by the rebel leader, General Ferrera. One condition was that Provisional President Tosta should resign. General Carias, leader of one of the factions in the revolution, which began last January, withdrew his candidacy for the Presidency owing to the announced decision of the United States Government not to recognize any Government headed by leaders of revolutionary movements. The Honduran Congress on Aug. 28 issued a decree convoking the popular elections for Oct. 26.

Despite the revolution in Honduras a Constituent Assembly, sitting at Tegucigalpa, continued actively at work in formulating articles for the new Constitution. Articles that had been completed by Sept. 3 provide for the abolishment of the death penalty; the independence of the judicial branch of the Government; regulations governing concessions for national resources, which are not to exceed ten years; and regulations regarding the army.

Nicaragua

IN compliance with the electoral laws, four political parties in Nicaragua had announced by early August their entire tickets for the national elections to be held on Oct. 5. The Conservative-Republican Party nominated Carlos Solorzano of Managua and Dr. Juan Sacasa of León for President and Vice President, respectively, and these candidates were endorsed by the Liberal-National Party. The Conservative Party-nominated former President Emiliano Chamorro and Vicente Rappacioli, and the Liberal-Republican Party nominated Dr. Louis Corea of Managua

and Felix Arauz of Chontales for President and Vice President, respectively. Because of the expense involved, the Nicaraguan Government at first declined the offer of the United States Department of State to send fourteen observers for the election, but later, on Aug. 28, it was reported from San Salvador that President Martinez was willing to accept supervision of the election by American experts on condition that General Chamorro, candidate of the Conservative Party, agreed to assist in passing through Congress, which the President proposes to convoke in extraordinary session, the Electoral Reform bill integrally as proposed by the electoral experts.

As part of the purchase price of the National Bank of Nicaragua, which the Nicaraguan Government proposes to take over from a private holding syndicate of New York bankers, the Nicaraguan Government had remitted \$300,000 to New York by Aug. 19 and was dispatching to that city its financial agent to arrange the details.

By mid-August orders had been placed for 100,000 tons of rails for new railroad construction in Nicaragua.

El Salvador

CUSTOMS collections of El Salvador for the half year ending June 30 totaled \$3,180,008. For the same period sinking funds and interest on \$6,000,000 of gold bonds, constituting a first lien on 70 per cent. of the total customs of El Salvador, which were sold to a New York banking house last October, amounted to \$411,599.

Panama

DR. RODOLFO CHIARI, candidate of the Liberal Party, was elected President of Panama by a large majority in the national elections held on Aug. 3. At the same time thirty-six of the forty-six seats in the national Congress were won by Chiari supporters.

Acting Governor Meriwether Walker of the Canal Zone reports that during the first ten-year period of operation of

the Panama Canal, which ended on Aug. 14, more than 25,000 commercial vessels passed through the canal. These vessels, in the aggregate, carried in excess of 110,000,000 tons and paid tolls amounting to more than \$100,000,000. Thus the average toll for each vessel was \$4,000, and the average net cost for each ton of merchandise transported through the canal was 90 cents. Sixty per cent. of the total commercial transits were of American registry. In addition to the commercial transits, approximately 2,300 United States Government vessels were transited free.

Cuba

PRESIDENT ZAYAS on Aug. 15 sent a message to the Cuban Congress asking it to take under consideration the restriction or prohibition of the immigration to Cuba of British West Indian laborers, approximating 65,000, who go each year to Cuba to harvest the cane crop. The alleged ill-treatment accorded to British West Indian negroes in Cuba has been the subject of diplomatic correspondence between the British and Cuban Governments for some months. In January the British Government charged that Cuban Rural Guards were shooting and otherwise abusing Jamaicans; that these immigrants were subjected to hardships in the quarantine station at Santiago de Cuba; and that they were paid in illegal paper money. A British note of June 25 announced that there was "a definite prospect of the restriction or prohibition of immigration from the British West Indies to Cuba at an early date." In July, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Ponsonby in the British House of Commons stated that trials of Cubans for the murder of British West Indian subjects had proved farcical, in that one case had resulted in acquittal upon a plea of self-defense, and that another case had resulted in a sentence to one year's imprisonment. He stated that unsatisfactory reports of the treatment of West Indians in Cuba had been received and that the British Government would soon publish the official

correspondence, including representations that had been made to Cuba.

The same day that President Zayas sent the above-mentioned note to Congress a Cuban Gray Book answering charges of alleged ill-treatment in Cuba of British West Indian laborers was made public. The Gray Book declared that quarantine hardships have been remedied and that instructions had been given for adequate police protection for foreigners; and denied that paper money has been paid to laborers except during the financial depression of 1920-1921. A delegation of sugar planters recently told President Zayas that the immigration of Jamaican negroes was necessary for the harvesting of the sugar crop in Cuba.

After being nominated on Aug. 10 by the Popular Party as its candidate for President of Cuba in the November elections, President Zayas on Aug. 23 announced his withdrawal from the race. An assigned reason for this action was that with three Presidential candidates in the field, one of whom was seeking re-election, memories of former campaigns for re-election disturb the present "enviable situation of Cuban national life." The withdrawal of President Zayas narrowed the race for the Cuban Presidency to General Mario Menocal and General Machado, candidates, respectively, of the Conservative and Liberal Parties. General Menocal, the predecessor of President Zayas, was nominated by the Conservative Party on Aug. 12. He has been described as "a man of unblemished record, of great wealth, and a formidable politician."

The embargo imposed by President Coolidge in May to prevent the shipment of arms to Cuba was raised by him on Aug. 30.

As provided for by the now internationally famous Tarafa bill, which was passed in August, 1923, the consolidation of the Cuban Northern Railroad, the Cuba Railroad and the Camaguey and Nuevitas Railroad was effected on Aug. 28; the title of the new company is the Consolidated Railroads of Cuba.

South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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SOUTH AMERICA has begun to recognize the ill effects of alcohol, both physically and economically, Peru and Uruguay having already enacted restrictive measures in regard to its sale. Three other republics recently took measures to prevent the spread of alcoholism.

The Bolivian Government decreed that all establishments selling alcoholic beverages shall close at 12:30 P. M. except on carnival days—Aug. 5 and 6, and Dec. 24 and 31. The Minister of Public Instruction of Chile placed at the disposal of the Rector of the University of Chile 50,000 pesos (\$5,000) to be expended for lectures and courses explaining the harmful effects of alcohol. The Chilean Director of Primary Education has just received 250,000 pesos for a similar use. In Colombia the Central Workmen's Committee requested their Government to restrict the sale of intoxicants and recommended a campaign of popular education on this subject.

Crown Prince Humberto of Italy sailed for home from Montevideo, Uruguay, on Sept. 5, after an extended tour of the Latin American republics. The royal visit was understood to have been inspired by Italy's desire for closer industrial relations with South America. The trip appeared to have been successful, Prince Humberto being received with friendly demonstrations at all points of call.

Argentina

THE new Argentine Pension law (No. 11289) continued to cause difficulty. By the terms of this act employees were to pay 5 per cent. of their wages into a pension fund each month, a similar amount to be contributed by the employers. Chaotic conditions in business were created through the at-

tempt to enforce this law in the face of the opposition of a majority of both employers and employes. Many firms failed to contribute to the fund, especially in the Province of Buenos Aires, where Governor Cantilo held that the law cannot be constitutionally applied. Many business houses that contributed during the first three months (April, May and June) ceased payment on the ground that the law was likely to be modified or repealed. Other employers who had set aside their own contribution as well as that of their employes refused to turn over this money to the fund until the law is generally and rigorously enforced. Late in July notices were sent to all delinquent firms that failure to pay rendered them liable to fines of from 100 to 500 pesos. At a meeting held in Buenos Aires the last week in July, attended by over 1,000 interested employers, it was voted unanimously to suspend payment to the fund under present conditions. Announcement was made at this meeting that the administration of the fund was already costing \$40,000 a month, and that organization expenses were increasing.

Employes who had urged the passage of the law before its enactment thought that the entire contributions were to come from employers. They subsequently proposed that the 10 per cent. of the wages at present contributed be paid in the proportion of 8½ per cent. by the employing firm and the remaining 1½ per cent. by the laborer.

A monetary reform proposed by the Argentine Minister of Finance to the National Congress outlined a plan by which the Conversion Office (Caja de Conversión) would be united with the National Bank (Banco de la Nación), the former to be an issue department similar to that of the Bank of England. The issue department would be respon-

sible for a note issue having a reserve of 80 per cent., of which 50 per cent. would be in gold, 15 per cent. in Government bonds and the remaining 15 per cent in commercial bills discounted by the Banco de la Nación. Gold in excess of the required 50 per cent. could be used by the Government to retire its gold obligation notes.

The new notes, to be styled "nacionales," would have a value of 20 centavos gold (approximately the value of the franc at par, \$0.193). The present paper pesos with a value of 44 centavos gold (\$0.42) would thus be equal to 2.20 of the proposed "nacionales." If the new program were adopted it was planned to issue 2,243,000 pesos of these notes.

During the last week of July 6,500,000 gold pesos (\$6,272,500) were withdrawn from the funds of the Conversion Office and sent to New York for the purpose of covering, by the purchase of notes in that market, an equal sum advanced by Baring Bros. for the service of the external debt.

This action of the Argentine Government was regarded by the Banco de la Nación as prejudicial to the best interests of the country. Dr. Herrera Vegas, the President of the bank, pointed out to Dr. Molina, Minister of Finance, that the domestic currency is inelastic, owing to the absence of banks of issue and of rediscounting. The directorate of the bank feared that the withdrawal of 6,500,000 pesos of note circulation might seriously hinder the economic development of the country, and notes which should be withdrawn could not circulate again until the gold was returned. The Minister of Finance in reply, though recognizing the danger of gold shipments, considered that the financial gain to be derived justified the action.

Dr. Alejandro E. Bunge, Director General of Statistics, published a report on the foreign trade of Argentina for 1923. This report showed that the total trade during that year amounted to 1,639,791,358 gold pesos (\$0.965), an increase of 20 per cent. over 1922. Im-

ports increased 26 per cent. over 1922, while exports were 14 per cent. larger. Statistics for 1923 showed an unfavorable balance of trade amounting to 97,068,834 gold pesos.

According to a recent report of the British Statistical Department the total of foreign investments was 3,350,000,000 gold pesos. The distribution was as follows:

	Gold Pesos.
Great Britain.....	1,900,000,000
France	425,000,000
Germany	365,000,000
United States.....	250,000,000
Holland	150,000,000
Belgium	135,000,000
Spain	25,000,000
Italy	25,000,000
Sweden	25,000,000
Other countries.....	50,000,000

Loans made since these statistics were compiled increased the foreign investments of the United States in Argentina by 400,000,000 gold pesos, thus placing us in second rank as foreign investors in that republic.

Major Pedro Zanni of the Argentine Army began an airplane flight around the world on July 26, starting from Amsterdam, Holland. The route followed was practically the same as that taken by the American aviators in the opposite direction. Major Zanni was held up at Haiphong, Japan, Aug. 23, for lack of parts to repair his airplane.

According to Italian statistics on emigration for 1923 some 178,000 emigrants left that country during the year. Of this number 89,000 migrated to Argentina.

The Argentine coast steamer Asturiano was set afire at sea by the explosion of a bomb in the hold of the vessel on Aug. 17; investigation was ordered and severe judicial measures were taken, as a protest against which the Maritime Labor Federation declared a general strike on Aug. 25. The Federation, which has 7,000 workmen members, had recently placed the steamer Asturiano under boycott.

Brazil

THE principal happenings during recent weeks in Brazil were connected with the revolutionary movement in the State of Sao Paulo. Beginning on July 6, the revolution lasted for twenty-five days. During the last days of July the Federal forces drove out of Sao Paulo the rebel troops, who fled northwest toward Central Brazil. The city gradually returned to its normal life, and by the middle of August travelers were again admitted to the district. Steamers of the Munson Line and the Lamport and Holt Line, which during the latter half of July had eliminated Santos as a port of call on the trips between the United States and the east coast of South America, resumed sailings to that port.

Strict censorship of telegraphic and press reports prevented a detailed account of the revolutionary movement from reaching the public. Authoritative accounts indicated that 2,000 people were killed or wounded during the fighting in and around the city of Sao Paulo, and that damage amounting to millions was done. It was estimated that from 15,000 to 18,000 rebel troops opposed the Federal forces, and that from 3,000 to 4,000 civilians joined the revolting forces. Over 200,000 inhabitants of the city and its environs fled from the scene of destruction. Bombardment of the city by cannon and airplane bombs destroyed some fifty buildings, including houses, shops, factories and churches, and damaged scores of others. Walls in line of machine-gun fire were entirely destroyed and many structures show shell holes three to six feet in diameter.

The leader of the revolt was General Isidoro Lopez, whose home State is Rio Grande. General Lopez was the leader in revolts against President Peixoto in 1893 and 1895. According to a manifesto signed by the rebel chief, the following were some of the reforms sought in the recent uprising: Lower taxes, better educational facilities, the secret ballot, separation of

Church and State, reform of the customs administration, prohibition of interstate imposts, and revision of State boundaries to reduce the number of States in the republic.

The Federal Government, from the first, took vigorous measures to control the revolt and prevent its spread. Large numbers of loyal troops with heavy artillery soon hemmed in the rebels. Only the desire to reduce to a minimum the damage to the city of Sao Paulo prevented the Federal forces from devastating the section held by the revolutionists.

Commercial life was paralyzed in Sao Paulo for three weeks and business in the neighboring port of Santos suffered almost as much from the revolt.

President Bernardes on Aug. 5 signed the moratorium law enacted by Congress for the State of Sao Paulo. By this law the date of maturity of commercial bills and other obligations was extended forty-five days.

The spirit of revolt, thought to have been extinguished with the defeat of the Sao Paulo rebels, burst into flame anew during August; although the Government continued its rigid censorship, enough information leaked out to indicate that the disturbance was of considerable scope. The fighting centred in the Provinces of Amazonas and Matto-Grosso; on Aug. 21 a hard battle was reported in which fifty rebels were killed. Disturbances likewise were reported from Rio de Janeiro; it was disclosed on Aug. 31 that on Aug. 22 six bombs exploded at the capital before the Argentine Embassy, while yet another bomb outrage caused injury to General Potyguara. The Government continued its pursuit of the rebels and on Aug. 31 declared the national situation to be under control, with all rebel forces in flight.

An unfortunate angle of the rebellion was its effect upon the visit of Crown Prince Humberto of Italy; the Government, which had planned an elaborate welcome to the Prince, was compelled to ask that he defer his visit, owing to the internal disturbances.

President Bernardes on Sept. 4 signed a decree extending until Dec. 31 the state of siege prevailing in the Federal district and the States of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Matto-Grosso, Sergipe, Para, Amazonas and Bahia. The extension was made "in view of the persistence of the reasons determining the original measure authorized by Congress on July 5 and the necessity of maintaining public order."

Chile

AS the result of a coup on the part of General Luis Altamarino and a committee of army officers, a new Cabinet assumed power in Chile on Sept. 5. The appointment of the Cabinet by President Alessandri came as an answer to severe criticism of the Government by the army officers. The Ministry is headed by General Altamarino as Minister of the Interior. The other members are:

EMILIANO FIGUEROA—Foreign Affairs

GREGORIO AMUNTEGUI—Justice and Instruction.

GENERAL BENNETT—War.

ANGEL GUARELLO—Public Works.

Much excitement followed the news of the coup; the public tension was accentuated on Sept. 9 when President Alessandri offered his resignation, which the Cabinet refused to accept; the next day the President, still insisting that his resignation be accepted, left the country and took up quarters in Argentina. The military Government announced on Sept. 11 that the President had been granted a leave of absence, and supplemented this on Sept. 12 with the news that the Ministry had decided to accept his resignation.

The coup was attributed to dissatisfaction with President Alessandri's economic program; the new Government, which was well received by the press, explained its purposes in the following declaration:

First, the military movement has not and will in no sense have political character; second, the movement was inspired exclusively as a supreme requirement to save the nation, ruined by political and

administrative corruption, and it will not end until its mission has been amply fulfilled; third, it is declared there is no intention to make or establish a military government or to introduce a dictatorship of any kind.

On the economic side, the Chilean Government itself faced a deficit of 110,000,000 pesos. It was generally agreed that before any financial progress could be made this deficit would have to be wiped out. The Government proposed on Aug. 5 to issue 110,000,000 pesos worth of bonds to make the budget balance. Señor Subercasseaux a former Minister of Finance and an expert economist, immediately pointed out to the Legislature the folly of such action. The peril of issuing that amount of paper when the present peso is less than one-third its par value was made apparent in his speech. The exchange value of the Chilean peso, as he pointed out, would slump at once.

The new income tax, which was expected to bring in more than two-thirds of the amount of the deficit, brought in little during the first three-quarters of the year. Banks and other large institutions found it difficult to pay to the Government funds laid aside for this purpose owing to the lack of organization in collection agencies.

In view of the deficit President Alessandri had decided on July 29 to postpone for one year the payment of pensions to veterans of the War of the Pacific (1879-84). Government expenditures, it was announced, would be still further reduced by the limitation of activities in public works.

Paraguay

D R. ELIGIO AYALA assumed the Presidency of the Republic of Paraguay on Aug. 15. The following Cabinet officers were appointed:

MANUEL PENNA—Foreign Affairs.

BELISARIO RIVAROLA—Interior.

LUIS RIART—War.

MANUEL BENITEZ—Finance.

ENRIQUE BORDENAVE—Justice.

Party spirit continued to run high because of the political disturbances of some months ago. The new President, however, began his term under conditions favorable to the development of his program. Most important among his international problems was the settlement of the boundary dispute with Bolivia.

Peru

PERU celebrated on July 28 the 103d anniversary of its independence. On that day in 1821 San Martin liberated Peru from the power of Spain. Celebrations commemorative of the event were held in Argentina, which has always preserved a close relationship with Peru, since both were liberated by the hero, San Martin.

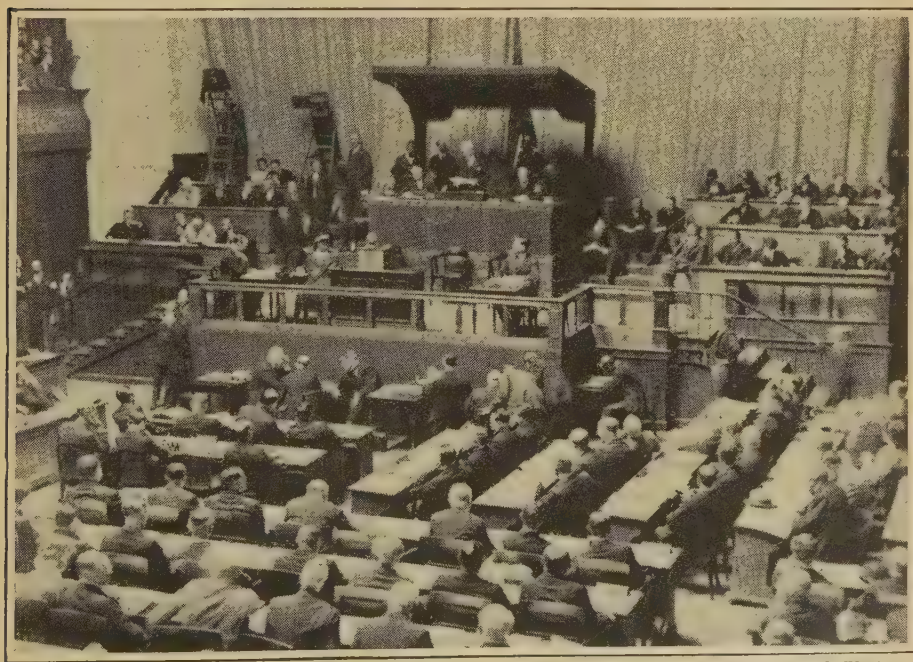
The National Congress convened this year on Oct. 12 instead of July 28, as formerly. The change of date was due

to the ratification in October, 1918, of the Constitution under which the present Legislators were elected.

Bolivia

ACCORDING to telegraphic dispatches the National Lead Company, in connection with Señor Simon I. Patiño, the "Tin King" of Bolivia, recently organized an American corporation under the laws of New Jersey, with a capital of \$50,000,000, under the name of "Patiño Mines and Enterprises Consolidated, Inc."

It was understood that the new corporation would take over the combined interests of Señor Patiño and the National Lead Company in Bolivian tin mining companies, which include the Compañía Estañífera de Llallague and the Salvador mine at Uncia. These two mines, on a basis of past operations, are producing 15 per cent. of the world's output of tin.



Wide World Photos

Opening of the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva on Sept. 1. M. Hymans, Foreign Minister of Belgium and President of the League, is delivering the inaugural address

The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan.

Great Britain

WITH the adjournment of Parliament on Aug. 7 the MacDonald Government secured the first real respite which it has enjoyed during six months of office. Ten times had it been defeated in the Commons since the new Prime Minister's first appearance in the House on Feb. 12. His decision not to surrender the seals of office unless it was clearly the well considered wish of a majority of the Commons is amply in line with a definite development in British parliamentary practice. The form in which he stipulated that Parliamentary confidence should be withdrawn is also in harmony with the recent trend of constitutional development, for it would place responsibility for the overthrow of the Ministry squarely upon the shoulders of definite men and a definite party. British political interest has been divided between the Irish boundary question, the declarations of the Premier at Geneva, the Anglo-Russian treaty which has been signed but not ratified, and the activities of Communists and alleged Communists in British labor politics.

The Premier has promised that the Commons shall have ample opportunity for the discussion of the Anglo-Soviet treaty, and that the House will be "absolutely free" to "consider and amend" the pact. Both Conservatives and Liberals have attacked the terms of the agreement, and private interests, such as the Association of British Creditors of Russia and the London Chamber of Commerce are opposing its ratification. The Trade Union Congress, on the other hand, has demanded its consummation "as of paramount importance for world peace and world economic recovery."

The annual Trades Union Congress,

which represented 4,000,000 organized workers and which concluded its meetings at Hull on Sept. 6, was followed with unusual interest by the British public because it gave official expression to the political sentiment of the industrial organizations which are behind the Labor Government. The conference enthusiastically received a number of Soviet fraternal delegates from Moscow, but declined to adopt their proposal that the Congress should work for the establishment of an international conference of all trade union organizations, including those affiliated with Moscow. The "Workers' Charter" was unanimously adopted. It calls for the nationalization of lands, mines and railways, a minimum wage in each industry, pensions for all workers at the age of 60, adequate provision for the unemployed, adequate housing, full educational facilities and a forty-four-hour week. The program is old, but its readoption this year was declared to be significant because its realization was now considered to be within the realm of practical politics. Among other things the Congress approved of Premier MacDonald's Geneva speech; empowered the General Council to undertake an exhaustive inquiry into wages, workers' conditions and productive capacity in India, sending a delegation there for that purpose if necessary; received an announcement that the Executive of the Political Labor Party had decided that no member of the Communist Party could be accepted as an official candidate; expressed dissatisfaction with the refusal of Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to modify the Civil Service regulations restricting the political activities of members of the Civil Service, and adopted unanimously a resolution instructing the General Council to call a special congress to decide upon appro-



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appropriate industrial action whenever the danger of war might arise.

Simultaneously with the meeting of the Trades Union Congress the British Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions called a minority conference of British trade unions. Some 200 delegates from local unions, unemployment committees and other labor organizations attended. The purpose of the conference was declared to be "to organize the working masses for the overthrow of capitalism, of emancipation of workers from their oppressors and exploiters, the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth, and generally to carry on the revolutionary class struggle." Through reports of the activities of the minority conference, discussion as to the ratification of the Russian treaty, wide publicity given to a number of other activities of the Communists in England and allegations of offensive Soviet spying on the British

Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow, the British public has heard more of the "Red menace" during the past month than at any time since the period of post-war hysteria on the subject.

A steady increase in the army of unemployed has occurred during the Summer months. At last reports there were 1,122,200 men registered as out of work, and the number was increasing at the rate of about 25,000 per week. The increase, however, was more or less seasonal at that time of year and the total was still more than 150,000 under that of December, 1923. Under the new Unemployment Insurance act which went into effect recently the rate of benefit was materially increased. An unemployed married man with three children now receives 29 shillings (\$7.25) per week from the Government.

Unemployment and strikes have led to an increasing interest in immigration to the United States. Thirty-eight hundred skilled mechanics from the textile mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire have formed an organization for the purpose of arranging their entrance into America. In all, 65,000 persons in England have applied for places in the British quota. This is nearly twice the number allotted. In this connection it is interesting to note that during the second quarter of 1924 the birth rate, about 19.5 per thousand, was lower than that recorded in any second quarter in recent times except during the period of the war. Although there were 9,674 fewer births than during the corresponding quarter of 1923, births outnumbered deaths by 72,981.

A prolonged strike of the porters employed at the famous Covent Garden Market failed to cut off London's supply of fresh vegetables. A Government commission was appointed to investigate the conditions which led to the walk-out.

Public interest in the British royal family has been stimulated by two interesting events—the holiday which the Prince of Wales spent in the United States and on his ranch in Western

Canada, and the birth of a son to the Princess Mary. Because his father, Viscount Lascelles, is a commoner the new grandson of King George is also a commoner, although he is in the line of succession to the British throne.

A recent return of population and valuation figures for Scotland shows that the inhabitants of the counties number 4,882,469, and those of the boroughs 3,312,165, a total of 8,194,662. The county Scots possess property valued at £43,543,778, while that of their city-dwelling brethren is assessed at £29,155,900, a total valuation of £72,699,687.

The retirement of Viscount Grey of Falloden from the leadership of the Liberal Party in the House of Lords marked the passing of another great war figure from the ranks of active leaders in British politics. Liberal leadership in the Commons was strengthened by the return of Sir Alfred Mond, an ex-Minister who was returned over Labor and Conservative competitors in a by-election in West Carmarthen, Wales.

Ireland

THE opinion became stronger in the Irish Free State during the last month that the amendment of the treaty with Great Britain by the passage of legislation which would enable the British Government to set up a commission to determine the Ulster boundary despite the opposition of Northern Ireland would not go far toward settling the critical relations existing between the North and the South. A number of leaders, both Republican and Free State, have been renewing the campaign to obtain a united Ireland by one means or another. Eamon de Valera, in fiery speeches, continued his appeal for a republic completely separated from England and containing a practically autonomous Ulster. Meanwhile, ex-Premier Stanley Baldwin, the leader of the Conservative Party, paid a significant visit to Sir James Craig, the Ulster Premier, who showed no sign of yield-

ing either in the boundary matter or the larger question of the relationship of Northern Ireland to Great Britain. On Aug. 13, by sixty-four votes against ten, the Dail Eireann passed the first reading of the bill by which Ireland agrees to the modification of the treaty for the purpose of settling the boundary question.

Canada

THE outstanding event of the month in Canada has been the Canadian National Exhibition. The fair has been held annually for forty-six years on beautiful and well equipped permanent grounds at Toronto and is declared to be the largest annual national exhibition in the world. Although the most important exhibits are those representing agriculture and industry, every phase of Canadian endeavor is exemplified within the grounds. More than 1,500,000 people passed through the gates during the two weeks of the fair, Aug. 23-Sept. 6. American attendance was heavier than ever before, although a year ago 2,400 American cars representing thirty-four States were counted on the grounds in one day.

In a recent address Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared that Government disbursements in 1924 were \$64,000,000 less than in 1922, while revenue receipts had increased more than \$14,000,000. The Canadian National Railways, "Canada's vast experiment," were making encouraging headway under an expert administration that was kept free from political interference. Immigration from Great Britain and Europe was increasing the population of the Dominion. Within the British Empire, Mr. King declared, Canada had become a partner with a status equal to that of any other part, including the mother country itself.

On Aug. 22 the Canadian dollar went to a fraction above par in New York for the first time since 1922. Trade figures for the April-June quarter, recently published, showed a favorable trade balance of \$44,000,000, and a

very substantial increase in the volume of Canadian sales to other countries since 1920, the last year of the post-war boom. In the Far West the lumber industry seemed to be recovering from its recent slump. Government reports indicated an increase in the output of the Dominion's fisheries and canneries. The value of this crop in 1923 was more than \$42,500,000.

The recent Ottawa conference upon unemployment revealed a serious situation. Representatives of the Dominion, Provincial and local governments and of capital and labor agreed that widespread unemployment existed and that it would probably increase during the coming months. An augmented public works program, a spreading of seasonal work throughout the year, shorter working hours, a wider distribution of labor, and Federal aid were among the remedies suggested. Efforts to attract new immigrants as long as a considerable amount of unemployment continued to exist were proposed.

A recent crop report issued by the Canadian Pacific Railway declared that, "while it is difficult to make any close crop estimate even yet, it is certain that the Dominion will harvest a normal crop, especially in the Western Provinces." The latest Government report, made before the recent improvement in conditions, estimated the 1924 yield (1923 figures in parentheses) as follows: Wheat, 282,042,000 bushels (474,199,000); oats, 378,995,000 bushels (563,997,000). Widespread damage was done to the Manitoba grain crops by severe electrical storms which swept the Province on Aug. 19.

The first investigation under the Combines Investigation act of 1923 was begun at Vancouver and the principal cities of the Prairie Provinces by the Federal Department of Labor. The charges investigated were that a powerful "fruit ring" exercised virtual control of the marketing of all the fruit products of British Columbia.

The Harbor Commission of Montreal has received authority from the Canadian Government to construct a new

bridge across the St. Lawrence River at Montreal.

A treaty has been concluded providing for the entry of Canadian goods into Belgium on low tariff schedules. During the past ten years Canadian exports to Belgium have increased more than 400 per cent., and in 1923 Belgium was Canada's fifth best customer. Shipments to Belgium consist chiefly of wheat from the Prairie Provinces.

India

THE Indian Reforms Inquiry Committee, which opened its sessions at Simla on Aug. 4, during the month gained the centre of the political stage in India. Although the Swaraj party declined to accept representation on the committee because of the restricted scope of its inquiry, some sections of the Anglo-Indian press criticized its proceedings because it accepted evidence as to the inherent weakness of fundamental parts of the Reform Plan, such as the principle of diarchy and of class, communal and official representation in the legislative councils. The proceedings of the committee were conducted in public.

While the Indian political leaders differed from each other and from British officials on the platform and in the council room, press dispatches carried the usual story of physical encounters between groups of the Moslem and Hindu masses. During the month religious rioting of a serious character occurred near Calcutta, at Nagpur, in Hyderabad and in a number of other localities. In Mandalay, Upper Burma, two Buddhist priests and two policemen were killed and many other people injured in disorders which resulted from a religious-political demonstration by advocates of home rule.

Torrential rains and cyclonic disturbances along the Malabar coast have rendered destitute many thousands of the inhabitants of Southeast India. Crops in areas totaling a hundred square miles have been ruined, buildings have been destroyed and live stock killed. The Provincial Governments concerned have

granted aid to the sufferers, and Lord Goschen, Governor of Madras, has requested the Lord Mayor of London to open a fund for their assistance.

A creditors' committee composed of two Europeans and three Indians has made a report concerning the affairs of the Alliance Bank of Simla, the failure of which some fifteen months ago all but created a disastrous panic in India. The official liquidators have not yet presented their report.

The situation on the northwest frontier has become complicated by reason of a rebellion against the Amir of Afghanistan. Reports indicated that the movement had been fomented by the Mullahs, who resented the ruler's efforts to modernize his Government and free it from religious interference. It was also declared that "Russian gold" had been supplied by Moscow in the hope of making trouble for the British on the Indian frontier. The *Izvestiya*, on the other hand, declared that Great Britain incited the rebellion and that the Pretender was "a typical British creature who has always lived in India on a salary from the British authorities." Great indignation was expressed because the rebellion, which was seen as part of a plot against Russian interests in Afghanistan, broke out on the day following the signature of the Anglo-Russian treaty of peace and amity.

One of the largest shipments of gold ever made from New York to India was recently dispatched to Bombay. The treasure consisted of \$1,760,000 worth of the precious metal. The same ship carried also \$2,000,000 worth of silver for India. A prosperous year in India, the seasonal demand for fairs, ceremonies and weddings and heavy selling of the rupee by Indian merchants in order to acquire gold explained the shipment.

South Africa

ONE of the questions which during the month tested the political ability of the Nationalist-Labor Government was that of the relations between the Provincial Councils and the Union Government. The Act of Union pro-

vides that the Central Government shall grant certain subsidies to the Provinces. It does not, however, give to the Union authorities any control over Provincial expenditures. When the Nationalists were in opposition they roundly denounced the Smuts Government for reducing the amounts of these subsidies and thus reducing the power of the Provincial Councils. Now that they have to find the money, the Nationalists are seeking some means of financial control over the Provinces consistent with their earlier declarations. At the end of the budget debate the Minister of Finance warned the Cape Administrator that he could not continue on "the primrose path" of his present rate of expenditure, and announced that the Government would confer in order to find a proper basis for local finance.

General J. B. Hertzog, the Prime Minister, announced in the Union Assembly that the time had come when the former German territory in Southwest Africa should be entrusted with a form of government in which the local inhabitants should be directly represented. It was intimated that representation of the territory in the Union Assembly would follow the establishment of such a government.

A recent report of the Census Department showed that, while more people were leaving the Union than were arriving from other countries, the white population was steadily increasing. The bulk of the immigrants were from England, with Scotland, Germany, Ireland and Lithuania next.

Demands of the mine engine-drivers have been partially met by the granting of a uniform scale of wages. The Chamber of Mines, however, has refused to grant the request of the men for additional wages and shorter working hours.

J. H. Thomas, the British Colonial Secretary, and the Empire Parliamentary delegation have been touring the country for the purpose of acquiring first-hand information concerning South African conditions.

Australia

THE resignation of two prominent Country members of the Nationalist-Country Coalition Government, headed by Mr. Bruce, early in August has been followed by increased disaffection among the farmers' representatives in a number of States. The people are being appealed to to support the present Administration on the ground that the turmoil and uncertainty which would follow any change would prejudice the solution of the pressing problems of national development, defense and debt reduction.

The Commonwealth Government enjoyed a surplus of revenue over expenditure of £2,587,000 for the financial year of 1923-1924, in addition to a surplus brought forward of £7,428,000, according to the recent budget speech of the Treasurer. Customs and excise collections provided most of the excess, while the income tax fell far short of the estimates, partially because of large arrears uncollected. The surplus is to be devoted chiefly to debt reduction, naval construction and defense reserve, with £500,000 allotted for the marketing of primary products. The estimated revenue for 1924-1925 totals £63,365,000, about £1,750,000 less than that collected last year. It has been decided to increase the income tax exemption from £200 to £300, diminishing by £1 for every £3 by which the income exceeds £300. Ninety-six per cent. of the taxpayers directly benefit, 260,000 being relieved of the payment of income tax and 180,000 others obtaining a reduction. The total remissions will amount to about £2,000,000. During the past year war debts totaling £9,041,000 were redeemed out of revenue and sinking fund. War loan redemption and conversion operations covering £58,000,000 were carried out during the year.

The Labor Government of Western Australia has discontinued group settlement under the present immigration agreement. The agreement, made three years ago by the Government, which

was defeated at the polls last April, is declared to provide too costly a system of land settlement.

Premier Bruce has informed the four wheat-growing States that the Commonwealth is willing to cooperate in voluntary wheat pools for three years, with one selling organization for overseas sales and one chartering agency for the control of freight and shipping arrangements. The Premier stated that the Commonwealth and State Governments would jointly guarantee up to 80 per cent. of the export market price. The South Australian and Victorian Governments, now controlled by Labor, also prefer the establishment of an overseas selling organization to a bounty for Australian export wine. Both States have refused to cooperate with the Commonwealth Government in granting a bounty upon the production of such wine.

Labor is preparing to move for the abolition of State Governors. G. M. Prendergast, Premier of Victoria, has announced that at the next conference of State Premiers of Australia he will introduce a resolution calling for the discontinuance of these offices. His proposal is said to have the support of the Premiers of the four other Labor-controlled States.

Australia has established a licensing system for radio sets. Each State in the Commonwealth has been divided into zones, the first zone being within a radius of 250 miles of the broadcasting station, the second within 400 miles and the third the remainder of the State. Fees for operating receiving sets are dependent upon the use to be made of the apparatus and the zone within which it is located. They range from 25 shillings (\$6.25) for private individuals to £10 (\$48.66) for hotels.

Kenya

THE educational facilities of the growing colony of Kenya are to be expanded, £20,000 having been added to the education vote in the current budget as provision for additional

staff for all races, stress being laid on native requirements. The budget estimates the revenue for the coming year at £2,093,460 and the expenditures at £1,763 less than this amount. Except for the cotton duty, there are no new taxes.

Malta

A PROLONGED ministerial crisis in Malta has been solved by the creation of a coalition government under the premiership of Signor Mizzi, leader of the Political Unionist Party, the extreme pro-Italian group. Since the June elections the balance between the four parties of the island has been so close that single party government was impossible. The present Ministry depends for its existence upon the continued support of the Labor Party, a circumstance which reduces to a minimum public confidence in its stability.

Newfoundland

NEWFOUNDLAND has "gone wet." After seven years of prohibition (the act of 1915 did not go into effect

until 1917) this oldest British colony has passed legislation which will permit each of its citizens to purchase one bottle of spirits a day from Government stores and allow hotels to supply beer and wines with meals. The system set up is very like that which is now in operation in the Province of Quebec. For the first two or three years the Prohibition act of 1919 was fairly successful. But in 1919 a Government which was opposed to its enforcement was returned to office. The investigation which preceded the general election of June last revealed gross abuses under the act by officials of this Government, two of whom are now facing trial for alleged graft in this connection. The purpose of the act was also defeated by the wholesale sale of medical prescriptions for liquor, by smuggling from the French islands of St. Pierre and St. Miquelon and by moonshining. Public disgust and indignation at these practices led to the election last June of a party pledged to clean up the politics of the island and to the repeal of the prohibition law.

France and Belgium

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

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WORLD opinion may be divided as to whether Mr. MacDonald or M. Herriot is entitled to the chief credit for the success of the London Conference; to the great majority of Frenchmen, however, their own Premier stood forth as the hero of a negotiation and an arrangement which, for the first time since the ending of the war, really appeared likely to bring about the re-establishment of tolerable economic relations in Europe. M. Herriot was greeted like a conqueror on Aug. 30 when he arrived at Lyons, the city of which he had been Mayor, to

rest for forty-eight hours before proceeding to the important disarmament discussion before the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva. At the station at Lyons he was met by 50,000 people and incessantly acclaimed by dense and noisy crowds which followed him all over the city, forcing him to appear on numerous balconies.

The Chamber of Deputies readily approved the London agreement, but the debate in the Senate on Aug. 26 was more violent, although the acceptance of the pact was practically a foregone conclusion. M. Poincaré, his succes-

sor's arch-critic, was declared to have been placed in an almost impossible position, as he could hardly defeat M. Herriot on the general agreement without seriously imperiling the whole Dawes plan, for which he claimed much of the credit. The discussion, therefore, although sometimes heated, was often very technical, M. Poincaré and his lieutenants devoting much of their time to explaining why they had not been able to accomplish like results while in office. The ex-Premier charged that France should have stayed in the Ruhr until the Dawes plan had been "commercialized," i. e., until the billion marks in German bonds to be issued under the agreement had been sold; "as it was," he asserted, "we gave away something for nothing." In answer to the accusation that "he had tied the hands of France," M. Herriot cried heatedly, "I fought for [the right to] isolated action, and was victorious. I declared that in case of default, in the absence of collective sanctions, I would on no condition surrender for France her right to act alone." The final vote of the Senate upheld the agreement, 181 to 37, with 74 Senators not voting. It was stated that the majority of the Senate really believed that M. Herriot could have made a somewhat better bargain at London, but refused to cast a vote which might have completely wrecked the Dawes plan.

French satisfaction with the reparation settlement rendered French public opinion less exacting in the even more vital matter of "Security." The announcement in August by President Coolidge that he intended soon to call a conference on disarmament met with very moderate enthusiasm in political and newspaper circles. It was pointed out that America would have to pay for her desires for disarmament either by reducing her European debts or by giving pledges to France of military aid in an emergency, neither of which concessions the Washington Administration seemed anxious to countenance. It was stated, however, that in view of the serious economic condition of France,

the republic would be willing to go a long way toward disarmament if America made financial concessions.

The problem of armament reduction became more acute as the League Assembly at Geneva proceeded with its meetings. Ex-President Millerand on Aug. 31 asserted in a formal interview in the *Echo de Paris* that there must be no weakening of the French position: "So long as we possess no other effective guarantee of our independence than our army and our fleet, no foreign intervention, however friendly, can be allowed to influence the composition of our forces." These views were said to represent those of the vast majority of Frenchmen, and it was stated that, despite M. Herriot's successes at London, it would cost him his Premiership to return from Geneva without the protection of France assured either by the continuance of a strong army or by the promise of very powerful allies.

Mr. MacDonald's speech at Geneva on Sept. 3, voicing emphatic objection to a pact of mutual assistance, as forming "the mustard seed of militarism," awakened a cry of angry dissent from the Paris press. A typical comment was that of the *Temps* declaring, "one might express surprise that Mr. MacDonald, who wished to establish before the world by the recent and most impressive Spithead review that the formidable British fleet is a force for peace, will not understand that the French Army is also a force for peace, and fills the part upon the Continent which the British Navy fills upon the high seas." As for the more violent Nationalist papers, their tone was usually that of the influential editorial writer, "Pertinax": "The British Premier has revealed himself as the impenitent Germanophile which we always suspected him of being."

In these circumstances peculiar weight was attached to M. Herriot's speech at Geneva on Sept. 5, in which he declared that it was upon the successful operation of arbitration that the peace of the world depended, but that "arbitration must not be a trap for the nations' good

faith." He asserted that France founded her policies upon the Treaty of Versailles, which furnished a basis of security, justice and law. As for Germany he stated, "We never desired the misery of the German people. France does not live on hate." He did not believe in any hasty program of disarmament, but he considered that "arbitration, security and disarmament were the three pillars of peace," and he concluded amid great applause with the assertion that "France holds out a fraternal hand to all your countries. It gives her joy even amid the sadness of her ruins, if she can help to bud peace, that divine flower." On Sept. 7, however, speaking at the dedication of a monument to Marshal Gallieni at Tribardou, on the tenth anniversary of the battle of the Marne, M. Herriot reiterated the determination of France that "there can be no disarmament without security." With pointed reference to the recent disclaimer by the German Government of the charges of "war guilt," he asserted: "I said it to the whole world, and I say it again here today, that I shall be greatly astonished if the importance of this celebration does not cause some humiliation among those who pretend that it was Belgium that leaped at Germany's throat."

The repudiation of "war guilt" by Germany caused the greater anger in France because already a genuine attempt had been made during August to extend the olive branch to the former enemy. The transatlantic German liners, for the first time since 1914, were freely permitted to touch at French Channel ports; an agreement also was signed between the interested parties whereby French and German artists, vaudeville performers and acrobats could hereafter perform interchangeably alike in the two countries, and on Aug. 27 a commercial agreement was concluded at Paris between the potash producers of the two countries whereby the French undertook to supply 37 1-2 per cent. of the American market and Germany 62 1-2 per cent., it being stated that similar understandings as to

the iron and textile industries were in prospect.

It was announced in Paris on Sept. 10 that the levying of duties on the customs line between the occupied and unoccupied territory of Germany had ceased on the night of Sept. 9 in accordance with the provisions of the London agreement for putting the Dawes plan into effect; it was further announced that by Oct. 1 Germany would again be in economic and civilian control of the occupied regions. During the eighteen months of the Ruhr occupation up to July 1 this year the French and Belgians realized from all sources in the Ruhr 3,519,000,000 francs. The cost of this collection is placed at 647,000,000 francs, including the cost of military occupation of the Ruhr. Of the total sum more than twice as much was realized the first six months as during all of 1923, which included the period of passive resistance.

Apart from the London and Geneva deliberations the only important international happening for France was the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey, which, having earlier run the gauntlet of the Chamber, was passed by the Senate on Aug. 26 by 270 votes to 20. There was bitter criticism by Senator Philip for the failure to protect the Armenians, but apparently the upper house felt that nothing could be done to recall the past. Premier Herriot declared that under the Lausanne accord French rights to the holy places and to the navigation of the Straits of Constantinople were better secured than by the defunct Treaty of Berlin.

The Bank of France continued its efforts to keep down the inflation of the currency. The legal limit is now 41,000,000,000 francs, and on Aug. 27 the actual circulation of notes was placed at 40,034,000,000, a shrinkage of 216,000,000 francs in the preceding week, this being the third successive week in which a falling off was recorded. It was announced, furthermore, that a great effort would be made to bring the circulation under 40,000,000,000, if only for the favorable effect such action

would have upon the franc market. In this connection interest was roused by the statement on Aug. 22 by Professor Allyn A. Young of Harvard University, at the Williamstown (Mass.) Institute of Politics, that in his opinion the French franc could never be restored to its pre-war parity of 19.3 cents in terms of the American gold dollar. His judgment was that when the franc finally was stabilized it would have a value of about 4 or 5 cents.

French educationalists, like their counterparts in America, have been debating vehemently the question of keeping Latin in its preferred place in the lycées and colleges. As a contribution to the discussion the *Revue de Paris* quoted at length an address by President Coolidge before the University of Pennsylvania in defense of classical studies. Mr. Coolidge's arguments have been received with enthusiasm by many French scholars, especially his claim that "the classical culture is the vigilant guardian of the republican spirit." It has been argued at length in France that Athens and Rome were the embodiment of true republicanism without autocracy and without reckless innovation. The attitude of Mr. Coolidge has been contrasted very favorably with that of "that other President, M. Painlevé [of the French Chamber], who denounces the classics with an excess of ingratitude as 'the most narrow form of culture' and as 'a tradition of the old régime.'"

American passport rules have given rise to considerable criticism. It has been complained that there is excessive delay at the American passport bureaus in securing the required visas, sometimes two and even three afternoons being wasted by travelers merely waiting in line. The incivility with which the clerks have been charged has been excused on the ground that their offices are grievously undermanned, and that they are swamped by non-French emigrants often enormously in excess of their national quotas; it is stated that on Aug. 18 there were only three Greek emigrant visas available at

the Paris office, yet there were 139 Greeks waiting at that bureau for permission to enter America.

The Eiffel Tower in recent years has been used for radio broadcasting, but largely for local amusement, opera music and the like; beginning on Sept. 1 the use of the tower's radio equipment was restricted to official announcements and messages from the French Government to the nations and peoples of the world.

Belgium

NO country greeted with greater apparent satisfaction the acceptance of the Dawes plan on reparations than did Belgium. Throughout the country there was far less tension and a firm belief that Europe was at last on the road to recovery. Premier Theunis on Aug. 19 made a detailed report to King Albert as to the proceedings of the London conference. In token of the improved relations with Germany the Belgian authorities on Aug. 22 began the "economic evacuation" (withdrawal of technical experts and others) from the Ruhr region, as a preliminary to the more important military evacuation.

At home, Belgium has been subjected to a somewhat severe industrial crisis, precipitated by the strike of about 30,000 coal miners in the Mons Basin. The walk-out followed a wage cut of 10 per cent. According to the operators it was impossible, while paying the old wages, to compete with German coal, whereof Belgium imported no less than 442,000 tons in the past July; furthermore, the fall in the pound sterling favored the importation of British coal. The stock of fuel on hand was large, and the wage cut was declared to be inevitable. The workers, however, took the attitude that the cost of living must be reduced before any such scaling down of wages could be permitted.

Belgian finance continued in a relatively satisfactory state. Early in September an issue of \$30,000,000 Belgian

Government 6 1-2 per cent. bonds, payable in 1949, was floated in the New York market. They at once advanced about a point above the original selling price of 94. The main object of this issue was said to be to stabilize the exchange value of the Belgian franc,

which still was holding somewhat below the French franc (\$0.0491 as against \$0.052 on Sept. 8) for reasons which disinterested foreign experts pronounce "sentimental" and "without any intrinsic factor to explain the discrepancy."

Germany and Austria

By WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD

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INTEREST in Germany during the past month was centred around the Dawes report and the London conference. Following the settlement in London, the great debate in the Reichstag opened on Aug. 23, when Chancellor Marx and his colleagues vigorously urged adoption of the conference report. During his speech the Chancellor was the target of a furious attack by the Nationalists and the extremists of the Right. Ruth Fischer, noted Communist member, leveled an attack on the Dawes report, declaring that all Americans of democratic and liberal leanings were opposed to it. Opposition was apparently more than counterbalanced by the hundreds of resolutions in favor of acceptance of the London program which poured in from industrial concerns, labor unions, Government officials, patriotic associations and the Reichswertschaftsrat (National Economic Council).

By Aug. 27 it was apparent that dissolution of the Reichstag would take place in case that body rejected the proposed laws necessary for acceptance of the Dawes plan. The final vote on the most important of these measures, the Railroad bill, stood 314 as against 127, the Government thus obtaining the necessary two-thirds majority. Those Nationalists who had opposed the London agreement and the Dawes report and then at the last moment voted for the Railroad bill were assailed by the re-

actionary press as traitors. The fact that Chancellor Marx repudiated the assertion that Germany was responsible for bringing on the World War, and would take steps to have that part of the Versailles Treaty branding Germany as guilty for the great conflict revoked, was regarded by some as a concession wrung from the Government by the Nationalists as part of their price for allowing the Dawes report bills to go through. The anti-Government element also professed to gain satisfaction from the willingness of the Centrist party, which forms the background of the Government coalition, to have the Nationalists represented in the Government and on the committees entrusted with the carrying out of the London pact. In Liberal circles intense disgust was freely expressed at the idea that the Nationalists should receive any special reward for their assistance. The unofficial visit of Secretary of State Hughes to Berlin was regarded by many as being closely associated with the Dawes program. The London agreement was also accepted by the Reichsrat by a two-thirds majority, Bavaria, Württemberg and Thuringia not voting.

Many Germans, irrespective of party, are not oversanguine regarding the Dawes plan because they believe the burdens entailed by it are not only tremendous but unfulfillable. Others are more optimistic and this feeling of hopefulness is reflected in commercial,



Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes at a garden party in Berlin given in his honor by Frau Stresemann, wife of the German Foreign Minister. In the front row, from left to right: Ambassador Houghton, Mrs. Hughes, Frau Stresemann, Mr. Hughes and the German Secretary of State, Herr von Maltzahn

industrial and banking circles. The wine, tobacco and shoe trades in the Rhineland and the Bavarian Palatinate, for instance, are reported increasingly active, with a resulting decrease of unemployment. Shoe factories at Pirmasens, idle since the separatist troubles last Winter, are again active. Optimism is also reflected in the rise in German bond quotations. Those who doubt Germany's ability to carry the burden imposed by the Dawes plan point to the fact that Germany's merchant fleet is only 4 per cent. of the 1924 world tonnage, against 12 per cent. in 1914, and that there are yet 700,000 workless men and women drawing unemployment doles in unoccupied Germany.

One of the most important industrial deals in Germany since the war is an agreement recently concluded between a German consortium headed by the Deutsche Erdöl Gesellschaft and including the Deutsche Petroleum Actien Gesellschaft and the Russian naphtha syndicate, for delivery of petrol and oil

products on a pre-war scale. The annual turnover involved is estimated at 15,000,000 marks for petrol and 30,000,000 to 40,000,000 for oil products. A similar agreement on a smaller scale is said to have been concluded in London between the Standard Oil Company and the naphtha syndicate for delivery of 25,000 tons of oil for Egypt and Turkey. The \$10,000,000 claim of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey against the German Government for use of the company's wells in Rumania during the war has been settled.

Minister of Labor Brauns recently stated that, although Germany favored an international agreement providing for an eight-hour day, as drawn up in Washington in 1919, extraordinary conditions had prevented the German Government from acting. A resolution adopted by the convention of German Catholic Societies, which convened at Hanover during the month under review, declared that labor "must not be reduced to the status of mere goods or

chattels. It is more. It is a personal and ethical deed of mankind, and therefore deserving of dignified and humane treatment."

The tenth anniversary of the battle of Tannenberg was observed Sept. 1 by 20,000 German veterans in the presence of Generals von Hindenburg, Ludendorff and von Mackensen. The Government was represented by General von Seeckt.

The Reichstag adjourned on Aug. 30 until Oct. 15 following a heated debate on the tariff. The bill had to be dropped until next session owing to opposition of the Communists, who left the chamber in a body so that there was no quorum.

The two persons most prominently mentioned to succeed Dr. Otto Wiedfeldt as German Ambassador to the United States are Dr. Solf, German Ambassador to Japan, and Dr. Cuno, former Chancellor.

The Consistory of the Evangelical Church has banned broadcasting of sermons and church services over radio.

Austria

IN his nineteenth report to the League of Nations Dr. Zimmerman, Commissioner General, severely criticized the Austrian Government for increasing salaries of State officials in the face of a deficit. The increase, which became effective on July 15, ranges from 10 to 120 per cent. and entails a sum of 62,000,000 gold crowns, not counting increased wages of railroad employes. By the new arrangement the President of Austria will receive \$7,500 annually, the Chancellor \$2,750, Cabinet Ministers \$3,250, Governors of Provinces \$2,250, and Members of Parliament \$1,750. Shortage of money and the credit crisis, the Commissioner General declared, were due to the panic on the Stock Exchange and franc speculation as well as the insolvency of several badly organized post-war banks. He also called attention to the great mar-

gin between interest paid on loans and money paid on deposits, amounting to 16 per cent. and more. Measures should be taken at once, he said, to decrease the rate of interest on loans. He viewed with disfavor the enormous number of banks and employes, resulting in expensive charges and commissions on all financial transactions. It was imperative, he said, to abolish taxes on banking turnovers which increased the price of credits and prevented influx of foreign capital. He was of the opinion that Austria's industrial difficulties were occasioned chiefly by tariff barriers raised by neighboring States, inability to obtain and, therefore, inability to give long credits, heavy taxation, difficult banking conditions, a high corporation tax and, last but not least, social laws greatly favoring employes.

Dr. Zimmerman's report was in turn criticized by Dr. Reisch, President of the National Bank, who averred that that part of the Commissioner General's report dealing with the financial policy of the National Bank was misleading, and that the report in its entirety was over-pessimistic and likely to engender lack of confidence. In this connection it is interesting to note that Dr. De Bordes, a League expert, describes Austria's revival as a "psychological achievement." Austria, he says, was being ruined by lack of confidence, by pessimism, and her recovery is attributable to new confidence in herself.

Chancellor Seipel, who was shot and seriously wounded by Karl Jaworek, a young factory worker, last June, has asked President Hainisch to include the would-be assassin in the amnesty declaration which the President intends to issue for a certain class of criminals. The Chancellor recently celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination as a Catholic clergyman.

Copious rains which ended the long drought came too late to be of much benefit to the Austrian grain crop; as a result the agricultural production of the country is entirely insufficient and prices are increasing rapidly.

Italy

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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THE body of Giacomo Matteotti, Socialist Deputy who disappeared in Rome on June 10, was found on Aug. 16 in a ditch near the village of Fiano about sixteen miles north of Rome. The identification of the body was finally established by Matteotti's dentist, who recognized work he had done a year and a half ago. Matteotti was buried naked and his bones had been tampered with by foxes. The body was buried in Matteotti's home town, Fratta Polesine, on Aug. 21. The discovery settled the long-discussed question of the fate of Matteotti's body, but it did not entirely solve the mystery of the disappearance of the body. The charge is still made in some of the Opposition papers that the police have known all along where the body was hidden. Naturally, the excitement in Italy was very great in the days that followed the discovery. From Rome disorders that had to be quelled by the police were reported among the men working for an American moving picture company. Most of the men wished to take a half holiday in Matteotti's memory, but the pro-Fascisti element opposed the cessation of work. In Naples a meeting of the Opposition parties scheduled for Aug. 18 was forbidden by the prefect and was held in violation of his orders. Two persons were killed and six civilians and ten carabinieri wounded when the police attempted to prevent the meeting. Rioting resulting in numerous casualties and about seventy arrests continued for several days.

Mussolini's position in the country seems still to be seriously shaken. The congress of the political party of the war veterans which closed at Assisi on July 30 issued a manifesto that may be indicative of a change in attitude of a group that has hitherto stanchly sup-

ported Mussolini. After declaring that it was essential, in view of recent political events, to keep an independent course, the manifesto continued:

This congress maintains that over all striving factions it is urgent to re-establish with absolute efficiency the dominion of law on which depends the free development of the life of a civilized people. While urging that the parties which belittled the victory of the war shall not be revived, and while refusing to return to the shameful period which followed the war, the congress calls attention to the necessity of declaring more clearly the separation between government and party. To the fellow-soldier who guides the fortunes of the nation, the congress declares that it will support his work in so far as, under the inspiration between Government and party. To the by the spirit which brought him to power, it truly aims to secure for Italy a high spirit of concord, which shall condemn violence, shall affirm the exclusive sovereignty of the State in the traditions of our Risorgimento, shall bring to new birth the love of country and shall ennoble the power of work.

The manifesto was passed by a favorable vote of all the representatives of the 314,000 veterans, except the group from the federation of Sassari in Sardinia. Mussolini's comment at a meeting of the general Fascista council was: "I don't like the vote of the veterans." A committee of veterans went to Rome to confer with Mussolini, but a later manifesto, stating that the veterans remained firmly in the position taken by the general assembly of the party, indicates that the conference did not have results of importance. The Assisi manifesto, many Fascisti contended, did not represent the general opinion of the veterans, and a group of Fascist veterans issued another manifesto declaring that "the flower of the veterans are in the Fascist ranks," and adding that a census soon to be taken will demonstrate the fact.

Immediately after the congress of the Veterans' Party closed, the General Fascist Congress, the first assembly of the party to be held since Mussolini came to power, met in Rome. It was largely attended by Fascist delegates from the Provinces, who gave full reports on the conditions in their districts. The congress brought to the front the rural element in the party, which is much stronger than the urban factions. It also made clear the strength of the "ras," the type of local chieftain such as Farinacci, whose powers Mussolini seemed inclined to check a year ago. Farinacci himself was appointed one of the directors of the party. The deliberations of the congress, after some opposition, resulted in a condemnation of the Masons, who have long been powerful in Italy. Fascisti were forbidden to join the order and were ordered to withdraw if they were already members. The congress also adopted a motion providing for a committee of five Senators, five Deputies and five scholars to be named by the new Fascist directors. The duty of this committee is to present, before the end of September, a plan for such changes in laws as are needed "to make effective and lasting the conquest of the State by Fascismo." This motion, which seems to foreshadow fundamental constitutional changes, has aroused a storm of protest. It represents a great victory for Farinacci and his ideals for Fascism, but it also shows the isolation in which the party is more and more being placed. Though Mussolini received a great popular ovation on Aug. 8, the day he closed the congress, his very conciliatory speech brought the following sharp comment from the chief Liberal paper, the *Giornale d'Italia*:

Virtually Mussolini has failed to keep his promise of normalization. And he seems to be in a great hurry to shut himself up with his faithful warriors in the Fascist fortress, in an isolation from which there can be none but a fatal issue. He is fond of highly colored adjectives—"irrevocable," and so on. In reality nothing in the world is irrevocable, not even the Fascist régime. And if it is Signor Mussolini's ambition to continue to govern the

country he must earn its trust. Rifles and bludgeons and "waves" will not help him.

The Piccolo of Rome said:

The very way in which Mussolini speaks of the Matteotti case shows a mentality different (and not a better one) from that shown at the first moment; and it is a bad thing, because the Magistrates must not be subjected to pressure, even indirect pressure, on the part of the Government. It is the gravest of errors, which may have incalculable consequences. And with the siege policy of isolation with its extremists (despite proposals of an impossible collaboration) the Fascist Government is ending by revealing itself as an army encamped in the country in defiance of the population.

Since then Mussolini has made vigorous efforts to conciliate the Liberals. Late in August he had an interview with Vettore Vettori, the director of the *Giornale d'Italia*. He urged the Liberals to collaborate with him. His own youth, he said, and the youth of his party explained Fascismo's warlike attitude. As indications of normalization he pointed to the constitutionalizing of the militia, and to the fact that the second march on Rome, though threatened, had not occurred. He defended the proposed changes in the laws on the ground that the Constitution must be a growing and changing instrument. His final words were: "I consider myself the servant of the nation, not the lord of it. When the nation is tired of me I will go. I will not go when the gentlemen wish it who have retired to the Aventine (that is, the Parliamentary Opposition) and are asking for my head. They won't have their satisfaction. Let the foxes of the Opposition wait on the wooded slopes of the Aventine. The grapes are bitter, and they won't ripen this Summer."

Some Liberal elements, it is clear, which do not wish to ally themselves with the Opposition, are holding firm against present tendencies in Fascism. The dramatist Sem Benelli, author of "The Jest," who was elected to Parliament on the Fascist lists, has issued a call to Italians to join him in forming an "Italian League," an association

rather than a political party, the purpose of which is to check violence and hatred and to exalt "the Italian idea of right and harmony." Sem Benelli's recent conferences with disaffected Fascisti have resulted in increasing the attacks on his league.

The results of the conference of London, where Italy was represented by Ministers Di Stefani and De Nava, have in general given satisfaction in Italy, though some action on interallied debts is anxiously awaited there. At the League of Nations ex-Ministers Salandra, Scialoja and Schanzer were the chief representatives. Mussolini's failure to attend, which occasioned some comment in Italy, was explained on the ground that the questions under discussion in Geneva were not of the greatest importance for Italy. The failure of Secretary Hughes to visit Italy while he was in Europe caused some disappointment, and the Secretary expressed through the American Embassy his deep regret that the visit was impossible.

Lieutenant Locatelli, the Italian avia-

tor, famous for his remarkable war record, who was to have tried to make a flight to the North Pole under Amundsen's direction, attempted a flight from Pisa to North America by hydroplane. Following water courses as far as possible, he reached Iceland, where, in company with the American world fliers, he attempted the flight to Greenland. His plane was forced down by motor trouble and he and his three companions were tossed about in high seas for three days until they were rescued by the United States cruiser Richmond. Admiral Thaon de Revel, Italian Minister of Marine, has expressed his gratitude to the American Navy for the rescue of Locatelli. The courageous attempt of the young Italian, which was so near to complete success, has aroused great admiration, and plans are under way to provide Locatelli with the equipment to make a second attempt.

According to a report first published in this country on Aug. 30 the complete text of Livy's history of Rome has been discovered at Naples by Professor Mario di Martino Fusco.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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Poland

ALLEGED activities of Russian Soviet give rise to to acrimonious official agents in Poland continued to correspondence between Warsaw and Moscow, as well as to arrests, border forays and sundry forms of reprisal. On the ground that the Soviet Legation in Warsaw had become a base for Communist propaganda and espionage, the Polish Government demanded that six members of the legation be recalled, and on July 30 they left the country, although not until after two members of the Polish Claims Commission in

Leningrad had been arrested and imprisoned. On Aug. 23 a Soviet bandit gang, led by two men known as Bartosz and Gascula, was captured while engaged in a raid on the eastern Polish frontier, and another party was dispersed at Radoshkovichi. Still other incursions were imminent, and on Aug. 27 it was announced that, with a view to more effective protection of the borders, Generals Januszajtis and Olszewski were to be appointed Civil Governors of the districts of Novo Grodek and Volhynia.

The Polish Diet completed its sessions on Aug. 2 and adjourned until October.

One of the last acts adopted was the measure renewing the grant of extraordinary financial powers to the Government for another six months, ending Dec. 31. An important political incident was the resignation of M. Stanislaw Thugutt from the leadership of the Radical Peasants Party, which has long been the centre of the Opposition in the Polish Diet. In his letter of resignation M. Thugutt denounced the alleged weakness and irresponsibility of the Diet. M. Andrzej Waleron was elected President of the Radical Peasants Party in succession to M. Thugutt. The new leader represents the party's left wing.

Despite repeated statements by representatives of the Polish Government and of several of the political parties of the republic, including the Socialists, to the effect that the charges of wholesale political terrorism in Poland contained in a protest signed last May by Edouard Herriot, now Premier of France, and other prominent French politicians were either untrue or grossly exaggerated, there seems to be no disposition on the part of either the signers or the radical French press to admit that the alleged terrorism does not prevail. On the contrary, the charge is specifically reiterated in *L'Ere Nouvelle*, a leading Paris daily supporting the Herriot Government, which bases its denunciation upon a manifesto issued by 152 leaders of the Polish radical bourgeois parties and workers and non-Polish elements, including twenty-eight members of the Diet, a Senator and a number of writers, artists and trade union officers.

It was announced on Aug. 27 that Premier Grabski had signed the final instructions to M. Wroblewski, Polish Minister at Washington, empowering him to complete the funding of the Polish debt to the United States, amounting to about \$190,000,000, principal and interest.

The metal industry has asked the Government to authorize an increase of the working day in that trade to something more than eight hours. On Aug. 29, however, the Minister of Commerce and Industry told the representatives of

the operators that this was plainly impossible—the more so since it was expected that the League of Nations would shortly bring pressure to bear upon the Germans to induce them to return to the eight-hour day.

An attempt upon the life of President Wojciechowski was made in Lemberg on Sept. 5; while the President was driving through the city two men threw a bomb at his motor car. The President was unhurt, and subsequently Stanislaw Steiner, a local resident, was arrested, charged with the crime. Steiner was thought to be demented and the attack was believed to have no political significance.

Hungary

JEREMIAH SMITH, League of Nations' commissioner in charge of the financial rehabilitation of Hungary, on Aug. 30 submitted his first formal report to the Council of the League in session at Geneva. He gave an optimistic account of the progress of the work, pointing out that the stabilization of the country's currency is now an accomplished fact, that confidence in the stability of the crown has been created and that the yield of indirect taxes and other revenues has considerably exceeded the official estimates. The commissioner bore testimony that the Hungarian Government has collaborated energetically in the plan of reconstruction and explained that the next steps to be taken are the limitation of public expenditures to figures established by the reconstruction budget and the negotiation of commercial treaties with neighboring States.

At present the country is suffering mainly from two adverse conditions, i. e., the high cost of living and unemployment. Notwithstanding the increased value of the crown, retail prices had not fallen at all when Mr. Smith's report was submitted, although he did not fail to observe that conditions in this respect would undoubtedly be righted through the operation of natural and economic laws. Unemployment

steadily increased during August, not only among factory hands but among clerks and other more or less skilled groups. The dismissal of many thousands of State employes, in accordance with the plans for national economy, added considerably to the difficulty, and in the middle of the month the Minister of Social Welfare announced that the Government was planning to start a number of public works, especially the repair of dilapidated public buildings, with a view to relieving the situation. It was stated that seventy or eighty million crowns were available for the purpose.

Hungary was visited during the third week of August by two representatives of the New York syndicate which handled the American portion of the recent international loan—James Speyer of Speyer & Co. and Alvin W. Krech of the Equitable Trust Company. A reception was tendered by the Budapest Government, and altogether the episode showed the growing interest which American capital has taken in Hungarian affairs, and in European affairs generally. The need of foreign capital in Hungary—especially for the rehabilitation of the railways—continues to be very great.

There have long been rumors that the murderers of Matthias Erzberger, the German Centrist leader, were hiding in Hungary, and during the past Summer suspicion became attached to certain German officers who have been living on the estate of Julius Gombos, the notorious Hungarian White Terrorist and Fascist leader. Strong demand has risen in Germany for the extradition of the suspects, but the Hungarian authorities, recalling that the German Government refused to surrender the slayer of Count Tisza in 1921, have thus far been inclined to take the ground that the persons who are wanted, being political criminals, have a right of asylum. The question is complicated by the position of Gombos, who, although he is responsible for numerous White Terror misdeeds and is intensely hated by the Liberals

and Socialists, stands in peculiar favor with Regent Horthy. On Aug. 24 M. Estzti, Minister of Justice, stated that the Government had not decided what action would be taken in the matter.

Greece

A RENEWAL of disorders in the navy led the Government, on Aug. 22, to warn the offenders that unless they yielded to the higher authorities martial law would be proclaimed and they would be dealt with as outlaws guilty of high treason. The immediate cause of the threat was the refusal of Captain Kolialexis, commanding the cruiser Averoff, to accept the Government's decision to reinstate in the service several officers who had recently resigned under pressure. The threat, however, had the desired effect: Captain Kolialexis withdrew his objections and agreed to present himself before the Minister of Marine, and thus a crisis which was expected to have grave consequences was relieved before much damage was done.

Seventeen Bulgarian peasants were slain on Greek soil at the end of July, and at the request of the Sofia Government an investigation was carried out by an international commission set up by the League of Nations. The commission's report, completed about Aug. 20, exonerated the Greek Government from blame and attached the responsibility for the unfortunate affair to Lieutenant Doxakis, a Greek, who, following a fray in the border village of Tarlis, had been made custodian of sixty or seventy Bulgarian peasants under arrest. The Athens Government gave assurance in advance of the investigation that the culprits, when revealed, would be duly punished. The handling of the affair gave fresh illustration of the usefulness of the League in such contingencies.

Dispatches from Washington on Aug. 21 carried the information that the Greek Government and the State Department were about to take up the question of the status of the balance of \$33,000,000 due on the \$50,000,000 credit accorded to Greece by the United

States. The Athens authorities were expected to press for the completion of the loan with a view, especially, to financing the relief of the 1,200,000 war refugees remaining in Greece, and it was suggested that Foreign Minister Roussous might himself come to Washington to conduct the negotiations. On the American side there was some doubt whether, in view of altered circumstances, there was any obligation to complete the loan, and upon this question the State Department was expected to give the Treasury definite advice.

The National Greek Assembly adjourned on July 31, after having voted confidence in the new Ministry, headed by Themistocles Sophoulis, the vote standing 181 to 142, or a majority of 39 votes in favor of the present Ministry.

It was announced on Aug. 15 that a commercial convention had been signed with Germany, under the terms of which Greek products were given a right to enter Germany on "the most favored nation" tariff. This convention is to be in effect until Jan. 1, 1925, and as much longer as may be necessary to complete the formulation of a new commercial treaty which will take its place.

Yugoslavia

At a special session of the Skupstina, opened on Aug. 6, the new Davidovitch Ministry presented a program whose outstanding features were the reform of domestic administration, the establishment of a régime of tolerance, the promotion of a policy of "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples," the strengthening of friendship with foreign countries, the reaching of an agreement with Russia, maintenance of the Little Entente and the further building up of the League of Nations. On Aug. 12, after a debate lasting several days, the Government won a vote of confidence, the Opposition, led by ex-Premier Pashitch, being defeated by 169 to 114. The special session was then ended and the members went home to await the call of the next regular session.

The most striking aspect of the vote of confidence was the support given the new Government by the sixty-three Deputies of the Croatian Peasant Party. This action had been foreshadowed by a resolution adopted at a party conference held at Agram on Aug. 3, wherein the accession of the Davidovitch Ministry was hailed as a step "toward a practical solution of the Serbo-Croatian question." There had, however, been some doubt whether this favorable attitude would be maintained, in view of the affiliation of the party with the Third International, effected by the party's President, Stephen Raditch, during his sojourn in Moscow. Understanding that M. Davidovitch and his colleagues were open-minded on the question of a revision of the present centralizing Constitution, the Deputies, with M. Raditch's assent, voted unanimously with the Government majority. During the debate the Minister of the Interior, M. Petrovitch, openly declared for constitutional revision, adding that one of the purposes of the new Government would be to bring about a full accord of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the three constituent elements of the kingdom.

On the day prior to the vote in the Skupstina, M. Raditch, virtually an exile during the days of the Pashitch Government, returned to his home in Agram, where he received an ovation from thousands of his partisans. The new Government considered that he was guilty of no offense which could justly be made the ground for further exclusion, and he returned armed with a diplomatic passport signed by Foreign Minister Marinkovitch. In a statement to the press he expressed confidence that after some urgent social legislation had been enacted a general election would be held, and that this, in turn, would be preliminary to a constitutional revision. The Government is practically committed to this program, although it can hardly be brought to support the Croatian plan for federalism and republicanism. M. Raditch declared in a speech at Agram on Aug. 14

that if the elections were not fairly conducted in Croatia revolution would follow and a Croatian Republic would be proclaimed forthwith. Such a republic, he added, would be recognized at once by Soviet Russia.

It was announced on Aug. 11 that the mixed Italo-Yugoslav Commission had completed its task of delimiting the frontier between Italy and Yugoslavia.

Bulgaria

APPREHENSION concerning a threatened Bolshevik revolution, to be engineered from Moscow, continued to overhang the Balkan world like a cloud, and nowhere was the menace more keenly felt than in Bulgaria. Gun-running on the Bulgar borders has become a profession, and seizures of arms and ammunition by the authorities are almost daily occurrences; a notable instance was the confiscation of a cargo of munitions early in August off Cape Emine, between Varna and Burgas. More alive to the danger than formerly, the Sofia Government has caused the coast guards to be heavily reinforced and has made new arrangements for policing the land frontiers. The Rumanian Government is said to have urged the Government of Bulgaria to disregard the restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Neuilly and to increase the army to whatever point is necessary in order to suppress the Communist activities. It does not appear that Sofia will act thus rashly, but Foreign Minister Kallhoff on his departure for Geneva on Aug. 30 to attend the League of Nations Assembly, made it plain that Bulgaria considers herself deeply wronged by the victorious powers and has not given up hope of obtaining remedial action through the instrumentality of the League.

Rumania

THE strained situation between Rumania and the United States arising from Rumania's new mining and oil legislation was somewhat relieved

early in August when Foreign Minister Duca indicated to the American Legation in Bucharest the desire of his Government to bring about the liquidation of commercial debts to American pre-war and post-war creditors. For many months the Legation had been presenting claims of various American firms which had found difficulty in obtaining settlements. Arrangements on this score have already been made between Rumania and various European Governments. Meanwhile, the Standard Oil Company has suspended all of its construction work and reduced its staff in Rumania, pending a decision by the company's officials as to whether operations in that country shall be entirely discontinued because of the recent discriminatory legislation.

In a statement before a special Cabinet meeting on Aug. 15 Premier Brătianu announced that he had been unable to negotiate the projected foreign loan.

Late in August it was announced that Rumania could not accept the League of Nations disarmament plan, embodying the mutual guarantees compact, for the following reasons: (1) General disarmament was not proposed; (2) satisfactory guarantees that neighbor nations would be compelled to disarm were not promised, and (3) adequate safeguards were not provided for assuring the execution of peace treaties.

Czechoslovakia

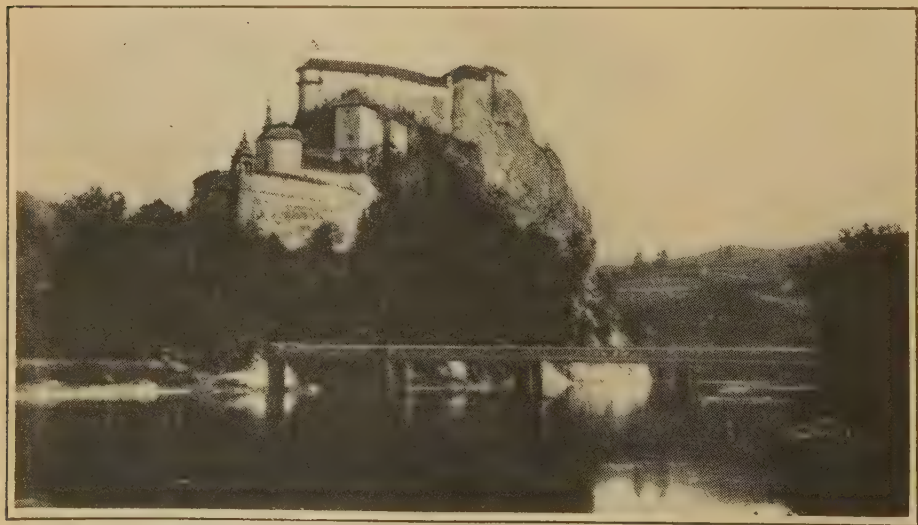
BY slow stages the interrelations of nationalities in the Czechoslovak Republic are attaining a settled basis. Until the Treaty of Trianon was signed, the Magyar elements pursued a policy of absolute abstention, but subsequently they were gradually drawn into the main currents of economic life. In a notable address delivered by M. Szent-Yvanyi at a congress of the Magyar Agrarian Party at Rimavska-Sobota early in August, it was urged that the Magyars should enter freely into political life as well. M. Szent-Yvanyi is the leader of the party and his counsels were expected to have much effect.

The rôle which 3,000,000 German inhabitants should seek to play in politics has also been under active discussion in such journals as the *Prager Tageblatt* and the *Prager Presse*; and the status of the Jews as well has been agitating public opinion. A statement issued on Aug. 4 by the Czechoslovak *Korrespondenz*, the official press agency at Prague, declared that, though the Czechoslovak Constitution makes no mention of Jewish nationality, ground is none the less given for recognizing the Jews as a national minority, entitled to all of the rights and privileges which such minorities enjoy.

As the number of Czechoslovak immigrants into the United States is limited by the new Immigration Act which became effective July 1, to 3,073 persons, and as the number of passports issued is ten times that number, the Ministry of Social Welfare has made a selection of certain classes of persons having a prior interest in emigrating to the United States. It was announced that the following persons would be authorized to emigrate to the United States in 1924 and 1925 in the order in which their passports should be deposited with the Ministry: (1) Wives

desirous of rejoining their husbands and husbands desirous of rejoining their wives; (2) unmarried infants desirous of rejoining their parents; (3) fathers or mothers of whatever age desirous of rejoining their children; (4) orphans of minor age who are without means of subsistence in Czechoslovakia, provided they can prove that their maintenance is assured in the United States; (5) other Czechoslovak subjects settled in the United States and desirous of returning there after a temporary visit to Czechoslovakia.

Industry in Czechoslovakia continued to suffer from shortage of capital, but the general outlook has been improved by good crop reports and by the exceptionally good sugar year and good sugar prices prevailing which are expected to materially strengthen the republic's condition. The sugar production in 1924-25 was estimated at 13,500,000 quintals, as against 10,000,000 quintals in 1923-24. Sugar for export was expected to reach 10,000,000 quintals. Exports of sugar from Czechoslovakia in the first five months of the current year were largely in excess of those of last year. Great Britain was the main buyer, purchasing more than double last year's quantity.



Castle Orava, built in the thirteenth century. It has played an important part in Slovak history

Russia and the Baltic States

By ALEXANDER PETRUNKEVITCH

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THE trial of General Boris Savinkov, who was Assistant Secretary of War in the Kerensky Provisional Government, proved by far the most interesting and, in some ways, the most important of the recent events in Russia. General Savinkov was arrested in Moscow in August shortly after his arrival from Paris under the assumed name of Stepanov, and tried for counter-revolutionary activities against the Soviet régime.

Savinkov was well known for his revolutionary activity in the reign of Czar Nicholas II. He planned and participated in the assassination of Minister of the Interior Von Plehve, Grand Duke Sergius and General Dubassov. He inspired the unsuccessful insurrection of Kornilov after reaching the conclusion that Kerensky was unable to cope with the growing menace of bolshevism. Later it was Savinkov who planned the assassination of Lenin, and when Fanny Kaplan shot and wounded Lenin in the Summer of 1918 it was done at the instigation of Savinkov. From Poland and Paris Savinkov directed assassinations of various Bolshekist leaders and supervised peasant uprisings throughout Russia.

The trial took place in the same building where Krasnoshchekov (Tobelson) was condemned to five years' imprisonment for abuse of his position some months previous. Several foreign correspondents were admitted and there were some 200 influential Bolshevik officials present, but otherwise the trial was kept secret from the public and no word of it appeared in the official Russian press. Among those present were Acting Premier Kamenev, Minister of Justice Kurski, President of the Supreme Court Krassikov, Premier of the Caucasian Federation, Minjini Elyava, and the former Dictator of Hungary, Bela Kun.

The first to enter the court were three youngish men in uniform, with the Supreme Judge of the Military Tribunal, Ulrich, in the centre. Then came the guards and soldiers and two sailors, who escorted the prisoner, a small bald man of about 45 years of age who walked with faltering steps. "Make your final statement," said Ulrich. (The preliminary examination had been held in camera.)

General Savinkov arose and began to speak in a low, weak voice, but one which was quite audible throughout the small courtroom. He admitted his identity and reviewed his revolutionary activity under the Czar's régime. "I am not afraid to die," he began. "I know your sentence already, but I do not care. I am Boris Savinkov, who always played on death's threshold; Boris Savinkov, revolutionist and friend of revolutionists, to be judged now by your revolutionary court."

Speaking of his opposition to the Bolshevik Government, Savinkov admitted his errors in the following words:

I turned against you for four reasons. First, my life's dream had been the Constituent Assembly. You destroyed it. I was wrong. Russia is not ready for self-government. You knew it, but I did not. I admit my fault. Second, the Brest-Litovsk peace, which I regarded as a shameful betrayal of my country. Again I was wrong, and you were right. History has proved it, and I admit my fault. Third, I thought that Bolshevism could not stand, that it was too extreme, that it would be replaced by the opposite extreme of monarchism, and that the only alternative was a middle course. Again I was proved wrong, and again I admit it. Fourth, and the most important reason, I believed that you did not represent the Russian masses, the workers and peasants. I lived always in the water-tight compartment of the conspirator. I knew nothing of the feelings of the Russian masses. But I thought that they were against you, and so I, who have given my life to their service, set myself against you also.

People came and told me about Russia, that the peasants and workers were happy under the Bolshevik régime, and I half believed them. Others said the opposite—that my country was groaning under a cruel tyranny. I half believed that also, until my position became unbearable. I must know the truth or die, I said, and so I came along of my own free will, without bombs or revolvers, without plots or supporters, with only one object, to learn the truth, to see it with my own eyes, to hear it with my own ears.

Now I know and I recognize unconditionally your right to govern Russia. I ask not your mercy. I ask you only to let your revolutionary conscience judge a man who has never sought anything for himself, who has devoted his whole life to the cause of the Russian people. But I add this: before coming here to say that I recognize you, I have gone through worse suffering than the utmost you can do to me.

Savinkov's speech further contained references to foreign countries and statesmen which, to say the least, revolutionary honor should have prevented him from making. He said that President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia had in 1918 contributed 300,000 Kerensky rubles to a Socialist revolutionary murder plot against Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders; that the French Mission to Moscow was fully cognizant beforehand of the plot to murder the German Ambassador, Count Mirbach; that French, British and American Military Attachés at Warsaw collaborated in his schemes for launching partisan raids on Soviet territory; that the French and Poles were cognizant of his plot to murder Rakovsky and Tchitcherin in Berlin on their way home from the Genoa Conference. Such revelations by Savinkov would in former years have meant a death sentence through assassination on the part of the Socialist-Revolutionary Central Committee, of which Savinkov himself was a leading member.

Long after midnight the Court pronounced the verdict, condemning the prisoner to death on four counts, espionage, incitement to assassination, incitement to brigandage and partisan warfare, and counter-revolution, with a

recommendation to mercy. The death sentence was finally commuted to ten years' imprisonment.

Diametrically opposite ideas concerning Savinkov were expressed by Minister of Justice Kurski and the notorious Bolshevik propagandist and leader, Karl Radek. "I think that Savinkov is telling the truth," said Kurski. "What is more, our investigations have shown no attempt on his part to start Terrorist activities here or to get in touch with anti-Bolshevik organizations. For one thing, there are no such organizations in existence, though he may not know that. Anyway, I believe that he is honest." Radek, on the other hand, called Savinkov "an amazing scoundrel," a "Caesar Borgia in the rôle of Hamlet." "For me," he added, "I would shoot him out of hand. He is so utterly the plotter, so profoundly devoted to murder and destruction as to be incapable of anything else."

Twenty-four men and a woman school teacher, Ivanova, were sentenced to death for killing three Communists in revenge for their attack on the teacher. Attaman Dereshchik and two of his lieutenants were sentenced to death in Uman on Sept. 2 for anti-Jewish pogroms in the Ukraine. Five Soviet Judges were convicted of bribery and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Captain Zvershevitch, first aide-de-camp to General Semenov, was condemned to death for open warfare against the Soviet Government during Semenov's operations in Siberia and Trans-Baikalia. Twenty-five officers of the Czarist army, including Colonel Orlov, Colonel Mazarov, Colonel Koslinin and several Cossack officers, were sentenced to death by the Criminal Court of Armavir, while forty other persons charged with counter-revolutionary activity were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Naroulaev, Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Republic of Khiva, and Kaniev, Commissar of Trade and Commerce, were condemned to death on charges of maladministration and defrauding the State. A number of other high Government officials were



The castle of the famous Georgian medieval Princess, Tamara. It is built on a height of 7,500 feet on the picturesque mountain road from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis

sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

A revolt against the Soviet Government in the Caucasian Republic of Georgia was suppressed and twenty-four leaders were shot by the Georgian Chéka. The revolt was started on Friday, Aug. 29, and was led by Prince Andronnikov and M. Djugelly. According to an official statement the revolt had been confined entirely to Western Georgia and the Guria peasant district and had been "entirely liquidated."

A cablegram from Berlin dated Sept. 1 reported the finding of a bomb in the Lenin mausoleum in the Red Square in Moscow, where the embalmed body of Lenin is seen daily by thousands. The bomb, wrapped in newspaper, was discovered by a guard attracted by the ticking of the clockwork of the infernal machine. Numerous arrests were made, especially of students, and the military guard at the mausoleum was doubled. All recent visitors have been searched.

Twenty-nine Zionists charged with spreading illegal Zionist literature and with conducting nationalistic propaganda among the Jewish population, were sentenced to be deported to Palestine

after they had been kept in prison for five months.

In Pskov, Father Troitzki was arrested last July on a charge based on Article 120 of the Soviet penal code, "exploiting religious prejudices of the masses against the Soviet Government and fostering superstition among the masses." He was sentenced to three years imprisonment, reduced by amnesty to two. He had achieved celebrity by his cures of various ailments during the years of 1918 to 1921 with the aid of a holy ikon of the Blessed Virgin.

Five thousand of the Soviet Cadet School graduates were promoted to the rank of officers in the Red army on Aug. 31. A parade took place in the Red Square in the presence of President Kalinin, General Budenny and General Samoilov.

Dispatches from Nizhni Novgorod show a big increase of business at the fair. During the first fortnight the daily turnover was barely 300,000 rubles, but on Aug. 16 it reached 869,000, on Aug. 17 2,044,000. Registrations of wholesale firms up to Aug. 18 included 478 wholesale firms—160 operated by the State, 114 by cooperatives, 8 mixed,

89 private and 77 foreign—and 327 retail firms.

The reports concerning grain shortage and the tonnage of grain available for export were still very uncertain during the month under review. A British expert who had just completed a study of the Russian grain situation in behalf of British firms reported that 50,000,000 Russians were threatened by famine and that the shortage of crops had reached 4,000,000 tons. On the other hand, Walter Duranty was informed by the Union of Russian Cooperatives (the Centrosoyous) that not less than 1,500,000 tons of grain were available for export. A dispatch from Riga dated Sept. 3 stated that Trotsky was opposed to the export of grain and considered it better to make up the deficit in the budget by forcing the export of timber, flax, butter, eggs and oil. An acute sugar shortage caused a great deal of discontent among the workers in Moscow.

The Allied American Corporation, which has the right to export and import freely, reported a monthly turnover of \$1,000,000. The company deals in furs, feathers, bristles, mats, tobacco, sausage casings, caviar, butter and eggs.

The representatives of the Sinclair Oil Corporation, Dr. A. C. Veatch and Mason Day, left Moscow by airplane for London on Aug. 22, following their failure to renew the contract of the firm with the Soviet Government, concerning the oil concession in Sakhalin. The Union of Russian Cooperatives has placed a large order for agricultural machinery with English firms. This order is one of the first consequences of the Russian-English agreement. The Centrosoyous is to receive from four to five years' credit.

Baltic States

EXTENSIVE forest fires were raging in the north of Finland in August, especially near Lake Enare, in the valley of the Kemi and around Kuolajärvi. Near Pöytälä alone some 450 acres of forest were destroyed.

M. Nanilson, member of the Estonian Parliament, was assassinated on Aug. 17. The Estonian section of the Third International distributed a proclamation stating that it had executed Nanilson as a traitor and threatening to mete out similar punishment to all spies and traitors. Nanilson was elected to Parliament as a Communist, but later joined the Socialists. He was shot in the presence of his wife, the assassins escaping into Soviet territory.

The Latvian Government issued an order under date of Aug. 21 granting permission to 1,500 Jewish refugees from Soviet Russia to remain in the country until Oct. 20. The State budget for the year 1924-25, amounting to 193,796,975 lats, was passed by the Latvian Parliament on June 13.

Shortly after a commission appointed by the League of Nations had decided that Memel should belong to Lithuania a group of German Nationalists engaged in the preparation of an armed insurrection. A committee was formed, composed of a President, two adjutants and a secretary. This committee prepared a list of over 400 persons who were to participate in the rising, scheduled to take place on Aug. 4. The Lithuanian authorities learned of the plans and arrested eleven conspirators at Janischken, near Memel. Many documents were found on the prisoners, who were confined in the Memel prison to await their trial. The leaders of this "Putsch" were all armed and belonged to the Hakenkreutz organization, which is regarded as illegal in Germany. The object of the revolt was to restore Memel to Germany.

A Latvian-Lithuanian Unity Congress was held in Riga with the object of establishing closer political and economic relations between the two countries. The Congress aroused great public interest and its sessions attracted a large and enthusiastic audience; the meeting was interpreted as having historic significance. The Chairman of the Congress, M. J. Ryteris, in his opening address, declared that Latvia and Lithu-

ania should draw closer together for protective reasons and should eventually include Esthonia. The assembly was cordially acclaimed by the press of both countries. Another conference of note was that concluded on July 26 at Riga, which was attended by representatives of Esthonia, Latvia and Russia; the enactment of a railway convention was

the purpose of the meeting, which was declared to have been successful. It was announced in Latvia that two treaties of commerce had been signed, one with Austria on Aug. 9 and one with Norway on Aug. 14. Both treaties were based on the most favored nation clause and included provisions for special privileges to the Baltic States and Russia.

Other Nations of Europe

By RICHARD HEATH DABNEY

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Spain

THE situation in Morocco has grown steadily worse, as Primo de Rivera himself has been obliged to admit. The Moorish tribes are playing the same game which the Spaniards themselves played against the French armies in the days of Napoleon. For Morocco, like Spain, is largely mountainous and rough, making regular operations by large armies extremely difficult. As the Spanish guerrillas swooped down from their mountain fastnesses upon small bodies of Frenchmen, captured or destroyed wagon trains of munitions and food, cut communications and surrounded garrisons, so the Moorish guerrillas are now handling the Spaniards. They have got possession, moreover, of modern weapons of warfare, and have learned something of modern strategy. Aided by the broken character of the terrain, they are able, in spite of the Spanish airmen, to concentrate their attacks, first upon the east, and then upon the west flank of the extended Spanish line. The Government is continually announcing that all will be well in the end. But meantime Spanish money and Spanish blood are being squandered in profusion. According to a special cable from Tetuan to The New York Times on Sept. 5,

Spain has 100,000 troops in the western part of the Spanish zone, half of which are in the Tetuan sector alone; how many there are in the eastern part is not stated. Reuter's Gibraltar correspondent said on Sept. 2 that 50,000 reinforcements had been sent to Morocco during the preceding fortnight. The newly arrived troops, though courageous, are said to be poor marksmen, insufficiently trained and under inexperienced officers. The losses in killed and wounded are believed to be far heavier than officially announced. Though the Moors could hardly hope to capture Tetuan, a battle, in which troops from the garrison participated, was fought on Sept. 1 within a mile or two of its walls. The Moors were said to have occupied posts of which no report had been made, and also to have captured artillery and quantities of rifles, ammunition and stores. So alarming was the situation that Primo de Rivera went to Morocco on Sept. 5 and took personal charge of the military operations. The next day he telegraphed back that the situation in the western zone was somewhat easier.

Is it strange that a Spaniard should have said to F. Jean-Desthieux (who records the statement in *Le Courrier Catalan* of Aug. 15), "We expect from Abd-el Krim the salvation of Spain"?

"Every one," says Jean-Desthieux, "who is not a militarist, in Castile as well as in other parts of Spain (not to speak of Catalonia!) recognizes the vanity of this expedition." He quotes H. G. Wells as denouncing this senseless war against the Moors, and as also denouncing Rivera for suppressing public opinion.

In Catalonia, at least, public opinion is very much alive. At the funeral of the great poet Guimera (who refused the title of nobility offered him by the Dictator) about 50,000 people filled the streets of Barcelona for several hours. Government officials, both civil and military, were conspicuous by their absence.

At Santander, on Aug. 12, King Alfonso entertained a representative of The New York Times at luncheon, along with Ambassador Moore and Primo de Rivera, and flatly denied any intention either to remove Rivera or to do away permanently with Parliament. He said Rivera would need at least another year, however, to prepare for the revival of Parliamentary Government.

The Spanish Government has authorized a contract with the Compañía Telefónica Nacional de España (organized by the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation of New York in cooperation with Spanish banks) for the construction and operation of a general telephone system which will take over and consolidate the existing Government-owned system with the private telephone systems of Spain. Under the new railway law recently passed it is expected that over 8,000 miles of line costing 4,868 million pesetas will be constructed in twenty years. Spain and Germany have recently made a new commercial agreement which is expected to help Germany's export trade to Spain in competition with that of the United States.

A group of Americans have recently returned from Spain, where they participated in the honors done to the memory of Adelantado Don Pedro Menendez at his birthplace Aviles. Recent research indicates that he was the founder of St. Augustine, Fla.

Portugal

ON the night of Aug. 11 an attempted rising of Radical-Communists in the outskirts of Lisbon was easily suppressed; the leaders fled. On Aug. 18 two policemen were seriously injured by a bomb. At dawn on Aug. 19 another bomb exploded in the city, destroying two shops and damaging others. On the night of Aug. 28 the Castle of St. George, the Lisbon citadel, was attacked; but the garrison, in spite of the treason of a number of sergeants, repulsed the attack and took thirteen prisoners.

The Portuguese Parliament adjourned on Aug. 21, after passing a vote of confidence in the Ministry by 42 votes to 20. A Reuter telegram from Lisbon says that the pay of Portuguese civil servants, soldiers, and members of Parliament is to be increased.

Switzerland

THE police of Schaffhausen on Aug. 5 dispersed with drawn swords a mob of Communists who had attempted to storm the police station and rescue two of their comrades. On Aug. 11, Ilberg, a French Communist, and Thomas, a German Communist, were arrested in Zurich for circulating propaganda and were deported about a week later.

According to a dispatch to the European Commercial of Vienna, high wages and freight rates, with the increased cost of living, have caused a number of industries to leave Switzerland during the last few years. The watch industry, however, with the aid of State subsidies, has largely recovered, particularly in Solothurn, where the fifty-two-hour week has been introduced. In Neuchâtel, where the hours of labor were not increased, there remained some thousands of unemployed.

The Marconi Radio Station Company of Berne announced that in 1923 it had dispatched 147,032 telegrams and received 68,283. The share capital had been increased by 2,100,000 francs, of which the Government holds 1,100,000.

A portrait of Admiral Semmes, Commander of the *Alabama*, has been presented by the United Daughters of the Confederacy to the City of Geneva, where the *Alabama* question was settled.

Holland

THE liquor treaty between the United States and Holland was signed by Secretary Hughes and Jonkheer de Graeff, Dutch Minister to the United States, on Aug. 21.

The Dutch Government has awarded 600 florins to the crew of the trawler *Lord Allenby* of Lowestoft for the services rendered in rescuing members of the crew of the *Scheveningen* trawler *Hubertha Cornelia* last October.

Denmark

A BILL for the abolition of the Danish Army and the substitution of a reserve police force for the national militia has been prepared by the Minister of Defense, and, with the approval of the Socialist Cabinet, will be presented to Parliament this Autumn. The bill also provides for the reduction of the navy almost to the vanishing point, but retains the air force, which will probably be enlarged.

The announcement of this proposed bill has had a wide repercussion in Sweden, where the Conservative Government, headed by Ernst Trygger, is committed to a large military budget for national defense. Herr Trygger's public comment on the Danish proposals, implying that Danish disarmament would have a very unfavorable effect on Sweden's political and military situation, was answered with some sharpness by the Danish radical press, which bluntly warned the Swedish Government not to interfere in Denmark's domestic affairs, and Herr Rasmussen, Danish Minister for National Defense, retorted that it was better for a nation to acknowledge frankly its military impotence than to seek to solve problems beyond its strength. The point of view of the Socialist Government of Denmark is based on the new political tendencies crystal-

lized in the League of Nations and on the hope that the peace of Europe must be maintained by international understanding rather than by physical force.

The international Boy Scout "jamboree" ended on Aug. 17 with a parade of 6,000 Scouts at Copenhagen. The American boys made a fine impression on Aug. 12 by their Indian dances under the leadership of William Hubert, descendant of a Mohawk Chief. The Harmonian Singing Society of Chicago has also favorably impressed the Danes by their singing of American songs. They were given a farewell dinner on Aug. 17 at the Royal Yacht Club.

A dispatch to Copenhagen from Captain Knud Rasmussen, who lately reached Kotzebue, Alaska, after a three-year sojourn in Arctic regions, announced great results from the expedition. A connection had undoubtedly been discovered between the Greenlanders and the Eskimos of Central and Western North America; valuable information had been gained concerning their religious ceremonies, and a great collection had been made of tools, weapons and costumes.

A Danish radio company has contracted to build a number of stations on the west coast of Greenland, and one of them will be in operation within a few months.

The total trade of the United States with Greenland now totals nearly \$250,000 a year, and consists chiefly of the mineral cryolite which is mined by an American company and shipped mainly to Philadelphia.

The Town of Villers-Franqueux in the devastated part of France has received 210,000 francs from the Danish Society for the Relief of the Regions Devastated by the War.

Norway

ACCORDING to Lloyd's Register, Norway has 750 tons of shipping per thousand inhabitants, while England has only 350 and the United States 125. Norway lost during the war 49.3 per cent. of her total tonnage, but her peo-



Gilliams

DR. MOWINCKEL
The new Premier of Norway

ple were undaunted by the U-boat warfare and her steam and motor fleet aggregated in 1922 2,241,239 gross register tons.

During the month from July 11 to Aug. 11 the number of unemployed Norwegians decreased from 7,850 to 6,800.

The Norwegian Government has contracted a loan of \$25,000,000 with the National City Bank of New York, the bonds bearing 6 per cent.

Sweden

A BITTER political campaign has been conducted in Sweden between the Conservatives and Nationalists under the leadership of the Premier, Ernst Trygger, and the Social-Democrats under that of Hjalmar Branting. Both leaders are cool-headed, experienced statesmen, and their views are perfectly clear. Though Trygger admits that mutual international confidence is the only permanent guarantee for peace, he insists that in the present chaotic state of Europe Sweden must be thoroughly armed

in self-defense. Branting, however, declares for the immediate cutting down of the military budget by 40,000,000 kroner. If a nation wishes peace, he says, it must prepare for peace and not for war. He also denounces the "unholy alliance" of the capitalists under Trygger's leadership and demands a secure home and a strip of Swedish soil for every Swede who wants it. Trygger, however, says that no alliance could be more unholy than that between the Social-Democrats and the Red Communists who take their orders from Moscow, and demands internal peace and national economy, basing Sweden's future on the old foundations. The elections will take place on Sept. 21.

Sven Luebeck, Swedish Minister of Communication, has recently published an estimate that Sweden has invested about \$268,000,000 in harnessing her water power; about 21 per cent. of her available "white coal" being already commercially utilized. Herr Luebeck declares that in both quantity and quality electrification of water-power in Sweden excels that of nearly every other country. For example, 40 per cent. of the Swedish farms run their machinery by electricity and 50 per cent. of the country houses have electric lights.

During the first five months of 1924 240,000 metric tons of ground and sulphite wood pulp have been shipped from Sweden, an increase of 50 per cent. over the same period last year. The exports of newsprint amounted to 56,000 metric tons, an increase of 28 per cent. Other paper exports increased 24 per cent. The Svea Steamship Line has recently purchased three vessels to start a freight route to North America.

On Aug. 19 regular nightly air mail service began between Stockholm and Berlin. In August an ambulance airplane designed in Sweden for the Red Cross carried an ill woman with a trained nurse 150 miles over the wild country near the Arctic Circle. Late in August Lieutenant Krook broke the world's altitude record for a hydroplane carrying 250 kilograms, reaching a height of 5,690 meters.

Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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Turkey

THE Treaty of Lausanne came into effect on Aug. 6, as between Great Britain, Italy and Japan on the one hand and Turkey on the other. The ratification by France was completed on Aug. 28, by vote of the French Senate following approval by the Chamber of Deputies. In the course of the debate objection was made to the recognition in the treaty of the British mandate over Palestine. Premier Herriot replied that France had retained all her rights in the Holy Land and that she would continue to defend French schools, French missions and French influence in the Near East.

The Commission on Finance has decided to choose foreign specialists as follows: Americans for the Customs Service, French for auditing, Swiss for pensions, and the citizens of another neutral State for land survey. It is reported that the Government has decided to take over the tobacco monopoly, which has been held for some forty years by foreigners.

A mixed Turco-Russian commission has been in session at Moscow on the question of war damages. In the fifth session the Russians presented a claim on behalf of the Armenians. This the Turks rejected promptly, and suspended the sessions until they should be able to prepare counter-claims.

Between October, 1923, and August, 1924, 310,000 Moslems passed from Greece to Turkey and 38,000 Greeks passed from Turkey to Greece as part of the general exchange of population. There remained about 100,000 Turks to be transported from Greece. The greater part of the Greeks of Turkey had fled before the exchange began. Greeks who were "established" in Constantinople before Oct. 30, 1918, have

the right to remain. Some questions are still to be solved; the "Dunmehs," or Jews converted to Mohammedanism, Mohammedan gypsies, Roman Catholic Greeks, the Greek Orthodox women who are married to Turks are in an uncertain status. Albanian Moslems, by intervention of the League of Nations, are permitted to remain in Greece. The expulsion of Christians not included under the Treaty of Lausanne continued, especially from the Southern district into Syria. There are said to be no Christians left in Marash, Killis and Aintab. A few remain at Urfa and Mardin. The Jewish population of Smyrna is gradually departing of its own volition, on account of the strong nationalistic policy of the Turks, which leaves them unable to earn a living.

A Turkish Military Mission has visited France, England, Italy, Poland and Germany. Repairs on the battleship Yawuz, formerly the German cruiser Goeben, have been postponed because the Assembly's appropriation was less than the British and German contractors' bids for repairs.

During the past year the Government has expended about \$3,000,000 for aid to farmers by distributing to them seed, cattle and agricultural implements.

Arabia

KING HUSSEIN refused to sign the Anglo-Hedjaz treaty because it stipulates that the existing status of Palestine is not to be changed for the present. The Hedjaz representative, Dr. Naji el Assil, was sent back to London early in August for further negotiations. Ten days later a peace treaty was signed between the Hedjaz and Soviet Russia, the effect of which is to establish diplomatic and commercial relations between the two countries.

Pilgrims to Mecca for the sacred

month, which occurred in midsummer this year, have been returning with many complaints as to their treatment. Caravans, one of which numbered about 20,000 pilgrims, were stopped outside of Medina. The reason for this was said to have been the demand made on King Hussein by certain tribesmen that he pay them \$100,000, which he had refused to consider. It was charged that the King had required every pilgrim to pay \$90, of which one-third was for the hire of an animal and the balance clear gain for the King. It was also declared that the price of water had been raised so high by the authorities at Mecca that many pilgrims died of thirst. The expedition which escorted the Holy Carpet from Egypt returned dissatisfied. It reported that the Hedjaz had failed to carry out its agreement regarding hospital and medical arrangements. The inscription on the Holy Carpet which King Fuad of Egypt had given was required to be removed and a Koranic text substituted. The Egyptian Government was reported to have ordered the withholding of the balance of wheat and olive oil usually sent as an offering to Mecca.

A revolution in Assir recently accomplished the deposition from chieftainship of the young Seyyid Ali el Idrisi. He was replaced by his uncle Seyyid Hassan. Two Englishmen, Colonel Jacob and Dr. Reed, visited the Imam Yahya of Yemen and are said to have obtained rights to prospect for mines in that country. An Italian group is said to have obtained the right to exploit a coal mine in the Tiaz district. Captain Cheesman, befriended by Sultan Ibn Saud, has visited certain portions of Central Arabia not before seen by Europeans. He reached the "mysterious oasis" of Jabrin, and saw Bedouins of the region Ahl Murra, who were dressed and equipped in the style of the Stone Age, and whose habits were "unashamedly predatory."

Iraq

GENERAL JAAFAR PASHA EL ASS-KARI, the Prime Minister, and

his Cabinet resigned early in August. King Feisal appointed in Jaafar Pasha's stead General Yasin Pasha el Hashimi. The new Prime Minister took also the portfolio of Defense. The other members of the Cabinet were as follows:

ABDUL MUHSIK BEG ES SAADUN—Interior.
 SASSOON EFFENDI HESKAIL—Finance.
 RASHID ALI EFFENDI GILANI—Justice.
 MUZAHIM BEG PASHASHI—Communications and Public Works.
 IBRAHIM BEG EL HAIDARI—Auqaf (Pious Foundations).
 SHEIKH RIDHA SHABIBI—Education.

The displaced Ministry had been severely criticized for inactivity, and much was expected of the new group. Yasin Pasha is reputed to be talented, but somewhat unstable. He commanded the Turkish forces in Cilicia during the World War and was later Prime Minister under Feisal during his short career as King of Syria. He was Minister of Communications and Public Works in the late Cabinet, and distinguished himself as a leader opposed to the ratification of the Anglo-Iraq treaty. In spite of this, his announcement of program promised close cooperation with the British in order to profit by their experience. He promised, however, to work for modification of the treaty. He proposed an early promulgation of the Constitution and the election of a Parliament. He pledged himself to reduce Government expenditure, to promote irrigation, to investigate agricultural problems, to improve conditions in Kurdistan, to make defensive preparation, especially in the Mosul region, and to establish neighborly relations with adjoining countries.

Before the change of Cabinet the Constituent Assembly had adopted the Organic law (July 10) and the Electoral law (Aug. 2). In preparing the Organic law there was serious debate over the provision that "special courts or bodies may be established by law for the following purposes * * * (b) the settlement of tribal disputes in matters of a civil and criminal nature." The British Administration recognized

the customary tribal laws. In many respects this is very different from the laws of the townspeople. Under tribal custom, for instance, men receive light punishment for murder, but heavy punishment is inflicted upon women for unfaithfulness. The Deputies from the towns were opposed to a policy which might strengthen the power of the tribes. They declared that the Turkish practice had been to reduce the power of strong sheiks and to encourage tribal disintegration, but that the British had increased the power of the tribes at the expense of the town. During the debate the tribal Deputies left in a body, and returned only when the word "must" was substituted for the word "may" in the clause above quoted.

Considerable criticism was made of Colonial Secretary Thomas's statement in the House of Commons to the effect that the British Government is not bound by the rider attached to the Anglo-Iraq treaty, which makes stipulations for the protection of Iraq's claim to Mosul. The Acting High Commissioner announced at Bagdad that "the British Government does not contemplate any modification in regard to their policy, which is well known, with regard to the northern frontier of Iraq, and has no intention whatever of abandoning their support to the frontier claim put forward at Constantinople on behalf of Iraq."

A debate on the Anglo-Iraq treaty was held in the House of Commons on July 29. Secretary Thomas supported the treaty, saying that the Government was obliged to carry out definite promises made by former Governments to the people of Iraq. He stated that the promise of a concession had been made to the Turkish Petroleum Company. This had been repeated at Lausanne by Lord Curzon and had been made clear to the Iraq Government. Mr. Thomas appeared to think that this concession should not have been made, but that, having been made, it should be sustained. He expressed the hope of settling the frontier questions amicably

with the Turks. He said that Iraq had cost Britain in 1919-1920 \$37,500,000; for the present year the cost would be about \$23,500,000. No one, he said, could guarantee that Britain would be able to withdraw in four years. The British Government, he stated, would either retain Mosul or enable the 200,000 Christians who are there to escape any possible atrocities.

Lord Curzon, stung by certain statements made in the above-described debate, addressed a letter to *The London Times* on July 31, in which he denied sharply that he had fought at Lausanne for oil: "Oil had not the remotest connection with my attitude or with that of his Majesty's Government on the Mosul question or the Iraq question or the Eastern question in any aspect," his letter declared. He denied previous knowledge of the claims of the Turkish Petroleum Company, and disclaimed all desire to ask for it a monopoly. Thomas Johnston, M. P., in a letter of Aug. 4, pointed out that Lord Curzon at the time of his correspondence with Secretary Colby in 1921 had included a brief history of the concession to the Turkish Petroleum Company. He quoted the San Remo agreement as having stipulated that any private company which might develop the Mesopotamian oil fields "shall be under permanent British control."

Persia

THE body of the American Vice Consul, Robert Imbrie, who died at Teheran on July 18 as a result of wounds inflicted by a mob of religious fanatics, was escorted with the utmost honor from Teheran by way of Bagdad and Basra to Bushire, where the United States destroyer *Trenton* received the body. The Persian Government will pay an indemnity of \$60,000 to Mrs. Imbrie and a similar sum for the expenses of bringing Major Imbrie's body home. Dr. Joseph S. Kornfeld has resigned as American Minister to Persia and left his post about Sept. 1.

Political and religious unrest con-

tinued. There was strong popular feeling against the British and against the sect of the Bahais. Reports of miracles continued to stir the populace. Religious processions paraded the streets chanting and shouting. The Prime Minister, Riza Khan, on Aug. 1 telegraphed to the Shah in France saying that complete order prevailed in the country and requesting him to return as soon as possible. On Aug. 25, for reasons not at the time made known, the Cabinet Ministers resigned. Riza Khan remained in office as Premier.

Early in August a newspaper editor named Mirzadeh Eshghi was assassinated. The reason assigned was that he has written strongly against the establishment of a republic. The other editors of the capital took sanctuary in the Parliament house, professing their intention to remain there until the Government should investigate the crime and punish the guilty. A deputation from among them went to the Prime Minister and presented their case. He told them that they were making too much of the death of one Persian, when hundreds had lately been killed in battle.

A Russo-Persian commercial agreement was signed on July 3 after three years' negotiations.

A weekly motor service was opened early in August between Bagdad and Teheran. The going trip involves a night run by train from Bagdad to Khanikin, and three days by motor, with stops at night at Kermanshah and Hammadan.

A Franco-Persian "Group for Economic Studies" has been created in France, with the object of improving and developing relations between the two countries.

Egypt

THE Sudan question has dominated all else in regard to Egypt during the past few weeks. Certain demonstrations and small mutinies in the Sudan have caused much apprehension in England.

For some months a "White Flag Society" has been working to arouse sentiment in the Sudan against British control and in favor of union with Egypt. It is said to number not more than 120 members, who are chiefly dismissed Egyptian officials and young Sudanese desirous of more rapid advancement than ordinary official life offers. However this may be, riots broke out on June 24 and 25 at Omdurman and Khartum. At the latter place Ali Abdel Latif, a "White Flag" leader, was placed under arrest.

The situation remained superficially quiet for six weeks. Blame is attached in some quarters to the English historian Professor J. Holland Rose, who on Aug. 7 appealed to the Prime Minister to help Egypt and the Sudanese "by fulfilling unequivocal pledges given by British broke out at four places in the Sudan on Aug. 9 and the following day or two. The Egyptian and Sudanese cadets of the Khartum Military School demonstrated in favor of Zaghlul Pasha and Ali Abdel Latif. After an ordinary parade they refused to give up their arms and ammunition, but before they had done any damage they were surrounded and picketed by British troops. Next day the Egyptian Railway battalion troops at Port Sudan made a demonstration, which was easily dispersed. On the day following this railway troops at Atbara demonstrated and destroyed a considerable amount of property. They were disarmed and confined to barracks by Egyptian mounted infantry, who are actually black Sudanese soldiers under English officers. These they attacked with brickbats and other missiles. The mounted infantry were ordered by a Lieutenant to fire over the heads of the mutineers: they aimed low, however, and killed two and wounded about seventeen, two of whom died. The British Government took the news seriously. Field Marshal Viscount Allenby, Egyptian and Sudanese High Commissioner, and General Sir Lee Stack, Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army and Governor General of the Sudan, were

both in England at the time. They conferred with the Prime Minister at the Foreign Office. Viscount Allenby started promptly for Egypt. Warships were ordered to Port Sudan and Alexandria. Airplanes and wireless sections were started from Cairo to Khartum. Troops were made ready for movement from Ismailia to Port Sudan and from Malta to Egypt.

On Aug. 15 the Egyptian Cabinet issued a communiqué on the events in the Sudan. After reciting these they announced that they would protest to the British Government against its proceedings there, and would insist upon the formation of an Egyptian-Sudanese Commission to examine the conditions and take pacifying steps.

The British Government, through the Acting High Commissioner, replied promptly, saying that it would ask the Governor General of the Sudan for a full report on the situation, and pointed out that it was responsible for the maintenance of order in the Sudan and intended to support the Sudan Government in taking whatever steps it might think necessary for the preservation of public security. Further announcement was made to the Egyptian representative at London that the rioting was regarded as a direct result of exaggerated Egyptian claims and press attacks, and that therefore the British garrison was being reinforced and the offending railway battalion was being removed from the Sudan. It was sharply stated that the British Government resented the implication that British troops had opened fire at Atbara.

A court-martial at Atbara, composed of Egyptian officers, sentenced three of the mutineers to two years' imprisonment and ten to one year's imprisonment. Port Sudan, which controls Britain's only railway communication with the Sudan except that through Egypt, was placed under martial law.

A difficult point in the British claim to control the Sudan is that while the initiative in the reconquest of the country under General Kitchener was British, and the British contributed part of the

troops involved, the Egyptians furnished the remainder of the troops and all the labor force, and the British control required Egypt to pay two-thirds of the costs, which amounted to \$12,000,000. Furthermore, Egypt has borne the whole expense of twenty-five years' administration of the Sudan, amounting to about \$35,000,000.

Palestine

IT was announced that Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner, and Sir Gilbert Clay, Civil Secretary to the Palestinian Government, would continue in office after the expiration of their present terms in 1925. After three months' vacation in England and Switzerland, Sir Herbert returned to Palestine in September.

The ratification of the Lausanne Treaty by France confirms the British mandate over Palestine and is held to strengthen the Zionist plan by confirming the Balfour Declaration.

Friday, Saturday and Sunday have all been declared legal holidays, during which time notes cannot be protested.

New tariff legislation cuts both ways. On the one hand an extensive free list is provided, including machinery for use in factories and industrial establishments by the proprietor or manager or for purposes of irrigation, drainage, sewerage and water supply; also vines, seeds and bulbs, fertilizers and insecticides, live stock for improvement of stock, bees, vaccines and serums, household goods, farm implements, ships and boats, printed books, drawing materials and samples such as cannot be sold as merchandise. On the other hand, the duties were greatly increased on cereals, foodstuffs, fuel, building materials, spirits, matches, soap, paper and motor cars. The effect of the increases was to cause a rapid rise in prices. A delegation of merchants requested the postponement of the date at which the law went into effect, but the request was refused.

Various Jewish groups have protested against the severity of immigration re-

strictions, as contrary to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration, and unjust.

The Soviet Government has presented a claim to all the Russian church property in Palestine, which consists of churches, monasteries, hospices and other lands in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Haifa. This will be a matter for political decision in conference with the British Government.

An Order in Council of July 25 provides that "no cause or matter in connection with the holy places or religious buildings or sites in Palestine or the rights or claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine shall be heard or determined by any court in Palestine. This will not affect the jurisdiction of the local religious courts."

Transjordania

IN the absence of the Emir Abdullah on pilgrimage to Mecca, a camel corps of Wahabis made a serious raid about Aug. 15 in the neighborhood of the capital Amman. Their number was estimated at from 10,000 to 12,000. They met resistance from local Arabs and the Beni-Sakhr tribe, who suffered from 120 casualties. The raiders tore up the railway south of Amman and burned a number of villages. After eleven hours British airplanes and armored cars arrived and repulsed the invaders, who are believed to have suffered about 500 casualties. Renewed attacks were reported several days later. It is not known whether the raid was merely for plunder or was a serious attempt by Sultan Ibn Saud of Nejd (whose death seems not yet to have taken place) to conquer Transjordania.

Emir Abdullah returned from Mecca and visited Jerusalem on Aug. 27. He made a speech, in which he urged all the Arabs to stop anti-British and anti-French intrigues. He said: "The Arabs hope to become finally the masters of their countries, but they are not in a position to oppose the foreign powers by armed force." A few days later, it is reported, King Feisal warned his brother that he should be careful or he might lose his throne.

The fact is that before they themselves were raided by the Wahabis, certain Transjordanians had been raiding into French Syria. Count Robert de Caix, Secretary General of the French Government in Syria, found it necessary to pay a visit to Jerusalem to complain of this. In consequence, the British imprisoned the Emir Mahmud Faur. Various Transjordanian officials, including the Prime Minister, have been accused of complicity. Much dissatisfaction has been expressed with the general state of affairs in the region.

Syria

GENERAL WEYGAND, French High Commissioner, upon his return from leave in France, made a series of speeches in the different districts of Syria, in which he is reported to have outlined considerable political reorganization of the country.

On June 22, 1922, a Syrian Federation was proclaimed, including the three States of Damascus, Aleppo and the Alaouites. An executive and assembly was set up to deal with interests common to all. It would appear that the scheme failed to function properly. The Alaouites are of a different spirit, and live in a different environment from the Syrians of the hinterland, who are very much alike. The new proposal is to constitute a State of Syria, which will include, in a single government, the former States of Aleppo and Damascus.

Commercial movements at the ports of Beirut and Tripoli for the year 1923 showed the value of imports to be about four times that of exports. England, together with Egypt, was far in the lead in supplying goods, while France took the largest percentage of exports. The Syrian budget for 1923 yielded a surplus of about \$1,000,000. The expenditures for 1924 are placed at 6,880,930 Syrian pounds, or about \$9,000,000.

In the Damascus region hospital and health services have been established and centralized. Medical assistance is offered freely to all. It is expected later to require fees from the well-to-do.

The Far East

By PAYSON J. TREAT

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China

THE oft-threatened war between the Tuchuns (Military Governors) of Chekiang and Kiangsu Provinces began on Sept. 3, about a dozen miles from Shanghai. The causes of this new civil war date back to the Summer of 1920 when the Northern military party, led by Tsao Kun and Chang Tso-lin, defeated Marshal Tuan Chi-jui and his colleagues of the Anfu Club. It was at this time that Wu Pei-fu came into prominence as a successful General; just two years later Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin came to blows for the control of Peking. Wu was now successful, and Chang retired to Manchuria to recoup his losses. The defeat of the Anfu Club in 1920 was complete, except in the case of General Lu Yung-hsiang, the Military Governor of Chekiang, and he has held this rich province in spite of the various attempts of the Peking group to dislodge him or to purchase his adherence. Facing him, with his capital at Nanking, on the Yangtze, is Marshal Chi Hsieh-yuan, an able General and administrator and member of the Northern (Chihli) military party. In April, 1923, there were rumors that the Northerners planned to crush General Lu between forces invading Chekiang from Kiangsu, Anhui, and Fukien; but on Aug. 19 of that year the two Tuchuns signed an agreement not to attack each other and to cooperate in keeping peace in their provinces. This agreement was the result of pressure brought upon the two Generals by the Chinese business interests and gentry. On Nov. 11, however, General Hsu Kuo-liang, Director General of the Shanghai and Woosung Constabulary, was shot by an assassin in Shanghai, and the appointment of his successor fanned the

embers of enmity between the rival Tuchuns. As Shanghai lies within the borders of Kiangsu Province, Marshal Chi believed that he should name the successor; but some time before, Shanghai and Sungkiang were made a separate administration and removed from the Kiangsu jurisdiction. General Ho Feng-ling, Military Governor of Shanghai and Sungkiang, a partisan of Tuchun Lu, of Chekiang, appointed a trusty officer to the post. Strife was imminent, but on Jan. 24 the three principals again published their decision to keep the peace. A real peace, however, was out of the question so long as Tuchun Lu, who declared himself independent of Peking and the Northern military party, held Chekiang. By the end of August the movement of troops and ships indicated that the issue would soon be decided. The reason given for Marshal Chi's offensive was that Lu had violated the terms of the peace treaty by harboring two military leaders lately expelled by the Northern party. His purpose was to regain the Shanghai-Sungkiang district, and eventually Chekiang Province. Meanwhile the Chinese business interests were trying to bring about a good understanding. Foreign warships, including ten American destroyers and three gunboats, gathered at Shanghai to protect foreign lives and property, and French and British marines were landed. At Peking the diplomatic corps warned the Central Government of its inescapable obligation to prevent loss of foreign life and property as a result of the fighting near Shanghai, and on Aug. 28 advised the authorities that their Governments would take such measures and utilize such means as were available to protect foreign residents, their trade and property, at Shanghai; in accord with this pronouncement, 1,100

marines from British, American and Japanese warships landed at Shanghai on Sept. 9.

The fighting near Shanghai continued through the first week of September without either side making any significant gains; the number of participating troops gradually increased, however, until about 40,000 men were engaged. General Chang Tso-lin on Sept. 7 issued a declaration of war against the Peking Government, and appended to the statement a long list of "crimes" alleged to have been committed by President Tsao-kun.

The possibility that the fighting near Shanghai might lead to general hostilities added interest to the march of events. General Wu Pei-fu, Superintendent of Chihli, Honan and Shantung, was reported to have sent troops to support Marshal Chi. He had been

able to risk this, because the floods in the North would hamper any military movements of his bitter rival, Marshal Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria. In Canton, Dr. Sun Yat-sen intimated that he would send a column to the support of General Lu, but all reports indicated that Dr. Sun had his hands full in the South. Despite his activities, however, Dr. Sun found time on Sept. 9 to announce his wholehearted approval of the Soviet Government of Russia.

The war reports forced into the background the later accounts of the terrible flood losses in many parts of China. On Aug. 14 the International Famine Relief Committee reported 13,115 deaths, and estimated that between 10,000,000 and 12,000,000 people were destitute in eight provinces; \$20,000,000 was needed for relief, and of this \$5,000,000 was sought abroad.

Conditions in the South showed no improvement. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had relied chiefly upon mercenary troops from the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi, Yunnan and Hunan. The tax levies necessary to support them bore heavily upon the people of Canton and the surrounding districts. In Canton, the Merchants' Volunteer Corps was organized to prevent further excesses, and its membership—probably exaggerated—has been given as 60,000. When Dr. Sun seized a consignment of arms on a Norwegian steamer consigned to the corps that body first threatened hostilities, and later protested to the diplomatic corps at Peking. The usual compromise was effected—Dr. Sun released the arms, withdrew his troops from Canton, and rescinded his decree of martial law, and the Volunteer Corps advanced \$500,000 to his depleted war chest.

The text of the Sino-German agreement of May 21 was published on July 15. All German private property held by China as a result of the World War was released. The German Government agreed to pay China the advance portion of an indemnity previously fixed, this payment to be approximately one-half of the released German private property, or about \$35,000,000 sil-



K. K. KAWAKAMI

The distinguished Japanese publicist and American correspondent of the *Tokio Nichi Nichi*. A photograph in the September issue of this magazine was erroneously described as that of Mr. Kawakami

ver. When the diplomatic corps informed Ambassador Karakhan, on Aug. 18, that it was willing to turn over to him the Russian legation in Peking, the note covered a supplementary statement that the action of Minister Schurmann "in acquiescing to the understanding embodied in the note in no wise constituted or implied recognition on the part of the Government of the United States of the régime known as the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics." Mr. Karakhan refused to accept this condition, and returned the note to Mr. Yoshizawa, Japanese Minister and acting dean of the corps, with a covering note "bristling with sarcasm." The original note was again forwarded to Mr. Karakhan with a request that he modify its language, but it was again returned with an expression of the hope that the American Government would make no further attempts to present a communication which Mr. Karakhan cannot accept.

Japan

THE Kato Ministry, supported by a strong coalition majority in the House of Representatives, has been engaged in working out a plan of administrative readjustment which will reduce the number of officials through the abolition of certain offices and the amalgamation of others. The greatest difficulty was expected to be found in the army reorganization. The Cabinet was said to favor the reduction of the army by six or seven divisions, while the high military officials were only prepared to give up four divisions and remove one from Japan to Korea. The estimated saving would be 18,000,000 yen annually, but 13,000,000 yen would be needed for twelve air squadrons, a tank corps, anti-aircraft units, motor transport, schools of chemical warfare and research and a school for non-commissioned officers. The contention of the Cabinet that the funds saved must be newly appropriated was accepted by the military officials. The term of conscription would apparently be reduced to one year with the colors.

The Japanese Cabinet considered the situation in China at its regular meeting on Sept. 9, and decided to maintain its policy of non-interference apart from measures that should be found necessary to protect Japanese property and the safety of Japanese nationals in China.

In Western Japan a new epidemic, resembling spinal meningitis, was raging. It was first described in 1910, and a few cases had been reported since then; this year, however, the disease was epidemic, with a mortality of about 65 per cent. Most of the cases occurred on the island of Shikoku, although it had spread to Hondo. On Aug. 31 the total deaths had reached 1,500, and the disease had spread to Tokio and Yokohama.

For the seventh time since 1922 the Chinese Government protested against the strict limitation of Chinese laborers entering Japan. According to imperial decree, all alien laborers were required to obtain the permission of the local authorities of the district in which they intend to reside. Skilled workmen, and those having fixed employment in advance of their coming, were admitted, but common laborers were sometimes denied entrance in order to prevent a burden falling upon the local administrations if they should fail to find employment. In 1917, Russian refugees, who had no means to sustain themselves or employment in view, were excluded.

August is the second of the three months when typhoons rage in the Eastern seas; on Aug. 8 a disastrous storm swept Formosa and Kyushu, the western island of Japan. In the former region 700 persons were killed or injured, and about 40,000 houses inundated; again on Aug. 19, a three-day typhoon broke in Western Japan. Seventy-two miners were entombed by a gas explosion in the Iriyama coal mine in Fukushima Province on Aug. 9, and on the 15th the region north of Tokio was rocked by a succession of earthquake shocks, little damage resulting.

International Events

By ROBERT McELROY

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THE outstanding events of international character during the past month have been: (1) The completion of the work of the London Conference and the signing of the protocol and agreements on Aug. 30, which is treated in detail elsewhere in this issue; (2) the meeting of the League of Nations Assembly, which began at Geneva on Sept. 1; (3) Russian international activities, especially the conclusion of the Anglo-Soviet treaties, signed on Aug. 8.

On July 10, 1924, during the preparations for the London Conference announcement was made that Premier MacDonald of Great Britain and Premier Herriot of France would attend in person the September meeting of the League Assembly. As the question of guarantees for national security was prominent at London, and as disarmament had been heralded as the keynote of the League Assembly meeting, this announcement appeared to mean the two Premiers would resume at Geneva the discussion of questions which the London Conference was not competent to settle, namely, the reconciliation of the ideas of national disarmament and national security. The unresponsive attitude of the leading nations toward the "Treaty of Mutual Guarantees," sent out by the League, the circulation of the "American draft" of a plan for disarmament and security, prepared by a group of Americans including Professor James T. Shotwell, General Tasker H. Bliss, General James G. Harbord and President Henry S. Pritchett, and the frequent reference to the League and its disarmament purposes during the London Conference, all conspired to arouse unusual interest in the coming meeting of the League Assembly.

Jonkheer H. A. van Karnebeek, the

Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs and former President of the League of Nations Assembly, replying on Aug. 11 to the League of Nations with regard to the proposed Treaty of Mutual Guarantees, declared that his Government did not feel justified in supporting that proposal, as it sought to create an organization based upon power instead of upon right, and that in his opinion the proposed plan was likely to lead to international complications rather than to international cooperation. This answer, however, showed Holland keenly alive to the importance of strengthening the legal guarantees of the League of Nations. A Paris dispatch the same day declared that opinion in France seemed to be turning toward the "American draft" as the surest method of gaining the security which France has consistently made the basis of her policy since the day at Paris during the peace negotiations when Clemenceau assured Woodrow Wilson that France would never recede one inch from the position that the security of France must come first.

For weeks before the opening of the Assembly the cables carried news regarding the meeting, the various representations, the questions to be considered, and other matters. Great Britain presented the Mosul question, involving a considerable portion of the frontier of Iraq, and asked that it be placed upon the program. Turkey was at once asked to send a representative to sit in the Council when the matter was discussed, as is her right under the Covenant.

Ecuador, in a communication accompanying the frontier arbitration protocol between her Government and Peru, gave the League officers reason to believe that she would soon apply for membership in the League. Brazil, on

Aug. 18, filed with the Secretariat her approval of the amendment to Article VI. of the League Covenant, which provides a new system of allotment of expenses of the League. This ratification made valid the first of many pending amendments to the Covenant.

On Aug. 14, Mr. Dandurand, Government leader in the Canadian Senate, sailed for Europe to represent Canada at the Assembly meeting, and four days later, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Geneva, Philip S. Henry was reported to have arrived at Geneva bearing a signed and sealed commission to represent the Commonwealth of North Carolina at the League Assembly. Governor Harrison of North Carolina issued a statement declaring that Mr. Henry had not been sent to Geneva as a delegate, but merely as an American interested in the work of the League. The so-called commission he described as merely a letter of introduction designed to insure him such courtesies as could be properly accorded to an American citizen.

President de Alvear on Aug. 21 asked the Argentine Congress to sanction the adherence of the republic to the League of Nations in time to make it possible for delegates to take their seats when the Assembly convened on Sept. 1.

On Aug. 24 the Foreign Ministers of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania considered together the question of the policy to be pursued in the League Assembly by the Little Entente, only to find that while the first two desired to recognize Russia, Rumania was unwilling to consent in view of pending Bessarabian questions. The three, however, were reported in accord upon the question of disarmament and a guarantee compact at Geneva, and determined to present a united front at the League meeting.

Although the United States appointed no representatives, a Geneva dispatch of Aug. 24 reported that 150 Americans had requested seats at the opening session of the Assembly.

Premier Herriot received from Pre-

mier MacDonald on Aug. 26 a letter suggesting that the two go to Geneva together on Sept. 2. The French Premier at once accepted the invitation, but for some days thereafter both Premiers were busy with preparations for the signing of the London accord on Aug. 30 and little was heard regarding their plans for Geneva. The harmonious outcome of the London conference, however, encouraged the friends of the League to hope for successful negotiations looking toward European peace. According to a Geneva dispatch of Aug. 31 all the principal nations of the world, except Russia, the United States and Germany, had sent their delegates there for the opening of the fifth annual Assembly of the League.

Sept. 1, the day of the opening of the Assembly, was chosen for the publication of the plans for world peace which the offer of prizes of 100,000 francs and 30,000 francs by Edward A. Filene of Boston had called forth in France. The plan which won the first prize rested upon the proposal that there should be a European League of Nations within a World League of Nations, which would result in a United States of Europe forming a single economic unit and presenting a common political front. It urges the acceptance of the Dawes plan, but declares that its successful application will depend upon the proposed European League of Nations. It proposes to solve the currency crisis by the stabilization of all European currencies through the agency of the European League of Nations, and to solve the production question by advancing credits and increasing the production of food-stuffs and raw materials under the direction of this same League by controlling the production and distribution of raw materials and regulating emigration.

Premier Herriot arrived at Geneva on Sept. 2 and Premier MacDonald next morning. It was soon evident that the harmony which had marked their relations in the closing days of the London conference did not extend to the chief

subject before the League Assembly. M. Herriot insisted upon military guarantees against attack before disarmament could be seriously considered. Mr. MacDonald declared himself the uncompromising foe of all military guarantees. When the American plan was suggested, there seemed no satisfactory answer to the French question "What shall be done to the aggressor?" The general opinion from the first was that the plan was unworkable, especially as no one could promise that America would join in enforcing the sanctions which it described.

The State Department at Washington on Sept. 2 made public an invitation from Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations, inviting the United States Government to be represented at the meeting of the third committee of the League, to consider a proposed convention for control of traffic in arms. The American reply, made through Hugh S. Gibson, Minister at Berne, was as follows:

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your note of Aug. 18 and to inform you that I did not fail to transmit immediately to the Secretary of State the communication from the Council of the League of Nations inviting my Government to have a representative present at the meetings of the third committee of the forthcoming Assembly, which is to discuss the question of the control of the traffic in arms.

I am now in receipt of a reply from the Secretary of State desiring me to express, on behalf of my Government, its cordial appreciation of the courtesy shown by the Council in extending this invitation.

The Government of the United States has been happy to be represented at the meetings of the temporary mixed commission and of its subcommittee. Its views have been fully explained on those occasions, and it is felt that they could not be usefully amplified by having a representative present at the meeting of the third committee. It is observed from the invitation that the third committee will discuss this matter with a view to considering whether the draft convention affords a sufficient basis to convoke an international conference for the purpose of adopting such a convention as has been contemplated.

The Government of the United States, as is well known, is in cordial sympathy with ef-

forts suitably to restrict traffic in arms and ammunition of war, and it will be glad to co-operate in the formulation of any plan which would warrant the belief that necessary legislation could be obtained to give it effect. To this end the United States would be disposed to give favorable consideration to an invitation to participate in an appropriate international conference of powers for the purpose of negotiating and concluding such a convention.

The British and French Premiers on Sept. 3 freely expressed their views regarding the all-pervading difference of opinion upon disarmament and security. Each gave an interview to the press representatives; each damned with faint praise the so-called American plan; and together they crowned with flowers the tablet to "Woodrow Wilson, Founder of the League of Nations," which adorns the outside of the Secretariat Building. The first great event was the speech with which Premier MacDonald opened the debate on the issue of security and disarmament on Sept. 4. "One day," he said, "not because you are going to appeal to her; not because you are going to bring pressure upon her, but because we ourselves have been wise enough to make our own efforts for peace successful, America's own heart will incline her to come in, and she will then find an honored and welcome place waiting for her in our councils." He also expressed the hope that Germany might be admitted to the League at once; and that Russia, still leagues away, might also enter some day. Defining his own position as that of a "scientific realist," he declared that the one way to arrive at security was by arbitration. "If we cannot devise a scheme of disarmament," he declared, "let us not fool ourselves that we are going to have peace. * * * The danger of supreme importance which is facing us now is that national security should be regarded merely as a military problem." Mr. MacDonald's speech was received by the French as "disappointing"; and his casual remark that it generally takes historians fifty years "to fix on who the aggressor in war" was in-

terpreted to mean that he was disposed to question Germany's responsibility for the World War, but he promptly denied that his words had any such specific meaning.

The next day, Sept. 5, the French Premier made his reply, stating the position of France:

Arbitration is necessary, but arbitration is not sufficient. Arbitration, security, disarmament—these are three things inseparable * * * Arbitration shows good faith, but we must protect good faith. We must protect those States which show their good faith by accompanying arbitration. * * * Mr. MacDonald says arbitration is justice without passion. I agree. But you cannot have justice without some force behind it. We must combine right and might. We must make what is mighty, just; and what is just, mighty. If we are to give the people what they desire, * * * we have got to provide for their security.

Premier MacDonald had expressed the view that another conference for the limitation of armaments, if called, should be called to meet in Europe, and in this Premier Herriot agreed, declaring: "We think the League of Nations the only body fitted and properly equipped to carry through such a conference." In general, too, he agreed with Premier MacDonald's view that Germany should be received into the League, but here also he insisted upon definite security for France. "France does not stand for hate," he said. "France does not live to hate. France hates the spirit of militarism, but she hates no nation. We are ready for conciliation. The only thing against which we stand is bad faith."

THE ANGLO-SOVIET TREATIES

The British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Arthur Ponsonby, announced to the House of Commons on Aug. 6 that a final settlement with the Soviet representatives had just been reached, two treaties having been negotiated, a general treaty and a commercial treaty. The completion of these agreements, long pending, was due chiefly to the personal intervention of Premier MacDonald, and they did

not appeal strongly to the Opposition. Lloyd George, amid the cheers of Unionists and Liberals, denounced them both, declaring them hopelessly vague and the arrangements regarding Russia's debts as "a fake."

The main heads of the general treaty deal with bondholders, miscellaneous claims and property claims. Mr. Ponsonby explained that the Government had been faced with Soviet decrees of repudiation and nationalization, but their contention had always been that whatever their opinion of the Soviet institutions or systems, it was no business of theirs. They had, at the same time, determined that the legitimate rights of British citizens should be recognized. As to the bondholders, the general treaty contains an admission of the liability of the Soviet Government and assurances that they will negotiate with the bondholders—a statement which was received in the Commons with considerable laughter.

The provision that under certain conditions the British would be expected under the treaties to guarantee a Soviet loan was bitterly attacked by the Opposition, which insisted that Russian credit was not good enough to guarantee. At the end of the debate Lloyd George declared contemptuously that "the honorable gentleman is going to sign something tomorrow, but he has not a ghost of an idea tonight what it is." Despite protest and ridicule, however, Premier MacDonald and Arthur Ponsonby signed the treaties on Aug. 8, Christian Rakovsky signing for Russia, and the negotiations which began on April 14 were at last consummated. Throughout the Soviet delegates persistently insisted upon two objectives, both of which were conceded: (1) a British Government's guarantee of a Russian loan and (2) the privilege of diplomatic immunity for Russian trade delegations.

In view of his success, Rakovsky is not unnaturally regarded in Russia as a national benefactor. A Russian official communication of Aug. 10 declares that his treaties bring "us near the realization of an agreement recognizing the

Soviet as a new form of political, social and economic régime, and constitutes one of the principal events in the foreign policy of the Soviets, and consequently in the history of the international relations of our times." Rakovsky himself declared that similar action on the part of France was now inevitable, the date being near or distant according to what he would call the Premier's wisdom, adding:

Today, on the checkerboard of international politics, the Soviet of Russia constitutes a force to be reckoned with, and to try to play the international game without recognizing that this piece is on the board is absurd.

The negotiations between the Soviet and Japan proceed haltingly. A Peking dispatch of Aug. 7 stated that Ken Richi Yoshizawa, Japanese Minister to China, upon his recent return from Tokio, placed before L. M. Karakhan, the Russian Ambassador, an outline of conditions upon which Japan would consent to evacuate Sakhalin, a question which has proved a serious stumbling block in the negotiations of months past. The new conditions were the result of a change of policy toward Russia on the part of the Japanese Cabinet, and comprised wholesale concessions in oil and mineral resources in return for military surrender. They also included full freedom of the concessionnaires from the control of the Soviet Foreign Trade Monopoly Bureau and the labor laws of the Soviet Federation. In addition, the Japanese demanded the right to construct harbors, railroads and other works, with complete freedom from all taxes save a small fixed percentage of the output of coal and oil, and freedom to import freely all materials and personnel needed for the development of the concessions. These rights were to be transferable to private Japanese concerns at the will of the Japanese Government.

So far the Russians have declined to make these concessions upon the general basis that they involve a practical abrogation of sovereignty over the areas involved during the long period for which the agreements would be op-

erative. And those areas include the richest oil and coal deposits and the best harbors in the island. The Sakhalin question therefore remains unsettled, with the Soviet still unrecognized by Japan, a condition likely to remain unless the Japanese Cabinet consents to lower its demands.

In a recent article entitled "Questions of Civil War," Trotsky indicates some of the fighting plans of Russia:

Soviet Russia is still faced by a world of enemies. But let them be careful, for when they force a struggle upon Russia we will not fight alone. In each of their countries there will be a party favorable to us, and the time has come to organize it.

It is an old story that the general staffs of the different nations prepare in time of peace war schemes against their "friends" and neighbors. We must make ready the revolution staffs among our supporters throughout the world. We must school them by the successes and errors of our experience in the Russian, Hungarian, Bulgarian and German revolutions so that when the time comes for the struggle they will have a sound, tried system upon which to work. When that hour will strike we cannot say, but as Marxists we are to believe it inevitable. Let it not find us unawares.

A Berlin dispatch of Sept. 3 stated that a motion that Germany should not join the League of Nations until a seat was given to the Vatican "endowed with full power and equal rights with the big nations of the world in the League," was unanimously adopted by the Catholic Convention in session at Hanover, one of the chief organizers of which was Chancellor Marx. The motion was introduced by Prince Alois von Lowenstein.

A Paris dispatch of Aug. 21 called attention to the fact that, while the number of poison gases used in the World War was about thirty, an army entering a campaign now, if fully equipped for the horrors of chemical warfare, would have more than 1,000 different kinds at its disposal. This statement was made in the report prepared by the world's greatest poison gas experts for submission to the League of Nations Assembly.

The Dawes Plan in Operation

Continued from Page 5

nounced the names of the more important officials appointed to serve in operating the Dawes plan. Owen D. Young, one of the American members of the Dawes committee, was appointed to the most important post, that of Agent General of Reparations, it being understood that he would serve only so long as required to get the plan into good working condition. The very important post of Commissioner of Railroads, which official is to direct the board operating the German railroads, went to Georges Leverage, the eminent engineer, who was the French member of the commission which drafted the railroad plan for the Dawes committee. In case of insufficient earnings by the railroads M. Leverage is empowered to take over the system and run it as dictator. To a Belgian was assigned the post of trustee of the billions of marks of railroad securities to be issued by Germany as part of the Dawes plan. Former Premier Léon Delacroix, for the last two years a member of the Reparation Commission, was selected for this position.

As trustee of the 5,000,000,000 marks of industrial securities Signor Nogara, an Italian engineer, was named. The commissioner of the pledged revenues of the Reich is a Scotchman, Andrew MacFeydean, Secretary of the Reparation Commission.

On Aug. 31 Mr. Young, in his capacity of Agent General of Reparations, notified the German Treasury that his office in Berlin would be ready on Sept.

2 to receive the first 20,000,000 gold marks called for under the London agreement, this being the first payment on the 83,000,000 gold marks placed at Mr. Young's disposal during September by the German and the allied Governments. It was estimated that from 35,000,000 to 50,000,000 gold marks would be paid in by the French, Belgian and Italian Governments during September, this being the proceeds from their administration of the Ruhr. If this, together with a second payment by Germany of 20,000,000 gold marks, failed to aggregate 83,000,000 gold marks at the end of the transitional period of five weeks, the balance was to be made up by Germany. On the day appointed, Sept. 1, 1924, Germany made her first payment of 20,000,000 gold marks, and the next day the Reparation Commission was informed that the \$200,000,000 loan for Germany provided by the Dawes plan would be offered simultaneously in New York, London, Amsterdam, Berlin, Zurich and Madrid on Oct. 15; that the rate of interest would be 8 per cent., and that America's share would be \$100,000,000, Great Britain's \$80,000,000, Switzerland's, Holland's and Spain's (with probably small amounts in Germany) \$20,000,000, making a total of \$200,000,000.

On Sept. 3 the Reparation Commission appointed Seymour Parker Gilbert Jr., former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, to succeed to the post of Agent General of Reparation Payments under the Dawes plan upon the retirement of Owen D. Young.

Text of Dawes Plan Agreements

THE following is the text of the final protocol and the agreements initialed at the London conference on Aug. 16 and formally signed on Aug. 30:

The representatives of the Belgian Government, the British Government (with the Governments of Canada, Australia, New Zea-

land, South Africa and India), the French Government, the Greek Government, the Italian Government, the Japanese Government, the Portuguese Government, the Rumanian Government, the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government and the German Government, accompanied by the representatives of the Government of the United States of America with specifically limited powers, and the represen-

tatives of the Reparation Commission, being assembled at the Foreign Office under the Chairmanship of the Right Hon. James Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the conclusion of the proceedings of the London conference on the application of the plan presented to the Reparation Commission on April 9, 1924, by the First Committee of Experts appointed by it on Nov. 30, 1923.

The President states that all the Governments concerned and the Reparation Commission have confirmed their acceptance of the plan and have agreed to its being brought into operation, and that in the course of the proceedings of the conference certain agreements which are necessary to enable the plan to be brought into operation have been drawn up, or already signed, by the parties concerned. It is understood that these agreements, which have now been signed or initiated *ne varietur* (except as regards the dates laid down in the agreement forming Annex III. hereto, which will be extended by seventeen days) and are annexed hereto, are mutually interdependent. The representatives of the parties concerned will meet in London on Aug. 30 next in order to effect, at one and the same session, the formal signature of the documents which affect them and have not already been signed. On this occasion a certified copy of the agreement concluded between the allied Governments will be communicated to the German Government.

The statement of the President having been approved unanimously by the representatives of the Governments concerned and the Reparation Commission, the President declares the proceedings of the conference at an end.
London, Aug. 16, 1924.

This protocol was initiated by the President (Mr. MacDonald), the Secretary General (Sir Maurice Hankey), the Belgian, British, French, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Rumanian, Serb-Croat-Slovene and German Secretaries, and by the Reparation Commission representative.

ANNEX I.—AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE REPARATION COMMISSION AND THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT

The contracting parties

Being desirous of carrying into effect the plan for the discharge of the reparation obligations and other pecuniary liabilities of Germany under the Treaty of Versailles proposed to the Reparation Commission on April 9, 1924, by the First Committee of Experts appointed by the commission (which plan is referred to in this agreement as the Experts' Plan) and of facilitating the working of the Experts' Plan by putting into operation such additional arrangements as may hereafter be made between the German Government and the allied Governments at the conference now being held in London, in so far as the same may lie within the respective spheres of action of the Reparation Commission and the German Government:

And the Reparation Commission acting in virtue not only of the powers conferred upon it by the said treaty, but also of the authority given to it by the allied Governments represented at the said conference in respect of all payments by Germany dealt with in the Experts' Plan but not comprised in Part VIII. of the said treaty;

Hereby agree as follows:

I. The German Government undertakes to take all appropriate measures for carrying into effect the Experts' Plan and for insuring its permanent operation, and in particular—

(a) It will take all measures necessary with a view to the promulgation and enforcement of the laws and regulations required for that purpose (specially the laws on the bank, the German railways and the industrial debentures) in the form approved by the Reparation Commission;

(b) It will apply the provisions contained in Annex I. hereto (not issued) as to the control of the revenues assigned as security for the annuities under the Experts' Plan and other matters.

II. The Reparation Commission undertakes on its side to take all appropriate measures for carrying into effect the Experts' Plan and for insuring its permanent operation, and in particular—

(c) For facilitating the issue of the German loan contemplated in the Experts' Plan;

(b) For making all financial and accounting adjustments necessary to give full effect to the Experts' Plan.

III. The Reparation Commission and the German Government agree—

(a) To carry into effect in so far as the same may lie within their respective spheres of action such additional arrangements as may hereafter be made between the German Government and the allied Governments at the said conference now being held in London, including any provisions which may be so agreed for carrying into effect the Experts' Plan or for the introduction of modifications of detail in the working of the said plan. The said additional arrangements when concluded shall be added in the form of a second schedule to this document, and shall be identified by the signatures of two members of the Reparation Commission on behalf of that body and of two duly authorized representatives of the German Government.

(b) Any dispute which may arise between the Reparation Commission and the German Government with regard to the interpretation either of the present agreement and its schedules or of the Experts' Plan or of the German legislation enacted in execution of that plan, shall be submitted to arbitration in accordance with the methods to be fixed and subject to the conditions to be determined by the London conference for questions of the interpretation of the Experts' Plan.

This provision shall be without prejudice to the arbitration clauses included in the Experts' Plan or in the said German legislation or in any of the annexes hereto.

IV. If no agreement shall be reached at the London conference between the allied Governments and the German Government for the purpose of carrying into effect the Experts' Plan, this agreement shall be void.

Signed for the Reparation Commission:

Signed for the German Government
MARX.

LOUIS BARTHOUL
JOHN BRADBURY.
SALVAGO RAGGI.
LEON DELACROIX.
London, Aug. 9, 1924.

ANNEX II.—AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS AND THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE AGREEMENT OF AUG. 9, 1924, BETWEEN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT AND THE REPARATION COMMISSION

The representatives of the Governments assembled in London,

Having taken note of the provisions of the Agreement signed in London on Aug. 9, 1924, between the German Government and the Reparation Commission, and of the questions of which under Article III. of the said Agreement the settlement must be completed,

Agree that the following clauses shall be embodied in the said Agreement:—

Clause 1.—The procedure for the settlement of disputes contemplated in Article III. (b) of the said Agreement of Aug. 9, 1924, shall be as follows:—

Subject to the powers of interpretation conferred upon the Reparation Commission by paragraph 12 of Annex II. to Part VIII. of the Treaty of Versailles and subject to the provisions as to arbitration existing elsewhere, and in particular in the Experts' Plan or in the German legislation enacted in execution of that plan, all disputes which may arise between the Reparation Commission and Germany with regard to the interpretation either of the Agreement concluded between them, the Experts' Plan, or the German legislation enacted in execution of that plan, shall be submitted for decision to three arbitrators appointed for five years; one by the Reparation Commission, one by the German Government, and the third, who shall act as President, by agreement between the Reparation Commission and the German Government, or, failing such agreement, by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Before giving a final decision and without prejudice to the questions at issue, the President, on the request of the first party applying therefor, may order any appropriate provisional measures in order to avoid an interruption in the regular working of the plan and to safeguard the respective rights of the parties.

Subject to any decision of the arbitrators to the contrary, the procedure shall be governed by the provisions of the Convention of The Hague of Oct. 18, 1907, on the pacific settlement of international disputes.

Clause 2.—The German Government declares:

(a) That it recognizes that the Transfer Committee is free, subject to the conditions of the Report of the Experts, to employ the funds at its disposal in the payment for deliveries on customary commercial conditions of any commodities or services provided for in the programs from time to time prescribed by the Reparation Commission after consultation with the Transfer Committee or by the Arbitral Commission provided for in paragraph (d) below, including in particular coal, coke and dyestuffs and any other commodities specially provided for in the Treaty of Versailles, even after the fulfilment of the Treaty obligations, in regard to these commodities.

(b) That it recognizes that the programs laid down by the Reparation Commission, after consultation with the Transfer Committee, or by the Arbitral Commission provided for in paragraph (d) below, for deliveries under either the Treaty or the Experts' conditions, shall not be subject, as regards the nature of the products, to the limitations fixed by the Treaty of Versailles for the deliveries which the Reparation Commission can demand from Germany thereunder; but they shall be fixed with due regard to the possibilities of production in Germany, to the position of her supplies of raw materials and to her domestic requirements in so far as is necessary for the maintenance of her social and economic life and also with due regard to the limitations set out in the Experts' Report.

(c) That it will facilitate as far as possible the execution of the programs for all deliveries under either the Treaty or the Experts' Report by means of commercial contracts passed under ordinary commercial conditions; and that, in particular, it will not take, nor allow to be taken, any measure which would result in deliveries being unobtainable under ordinary commercial conditions.

The allied Governments on their side each undertake so far as it is concerned to pre-

vent as far as possible the re-exportation of the deliveries received from Germany, except in accordance with the provisions of Article V. of Annex VI. of the Experts' Report.

(d) The German Government further declares that it agrees to the following additional provisions in regard to the fixation and execution of programs for the deliveries of the undermentioned products after the fulfilment of the treaty obligations in regard to such products:

(i.) In default of agreement as regards the programs of deliveries of these products, either between the members of the Reparation Commission, or between the Reparation Commission acting unanimously and the German Government, programs which take due account of ordinary commercial custom shall be laid down for periods to be determined by the Special Committee referred to in Clause 3 of this agreement by an Arbitral Commission consisting of three independent and impartial arbitrators. The members of this Arbitral Commission shall be appointed in advance for a definite period by agreement between the Reparation Commission acting unanimously and the German Government, or, in default of agreement, by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. The Chairman of the commission shall be a citizen of the United States of America.

(ii.) In laying down the programs, the Arbitral Commission shall take into account the possibilities of production in Germany, the position of her supplies of raw materials and her domestic requirements in so far as necessary for the maintenance of her social and economic life, and also of the conditions set out in the Experts' Report, nor shall it exceed the limits fixed by the Transfer Committee with a view to the maintenance of the German exchange.

(iii.) The decision of the Arbitral Commission fixing the programs shall be final.

(iv.) The allied Governments and nationals shall make every effort to obtain the delivery of the full amounts fixed by these programs by means of direct commercial contracts with the German suppliers.

(v.) If any allied Government considers that it or its nationals have not been able to make commercial contracts to the full amount of the program, owing to measures of willful discrimination or willful obstruction on the part of the German Government or its nationals, it may submit a reasoned claim to the Arbitral Commission, and the commission, after hearing the parties, shall decide, as a matter of equity, taking into account the conditions referred to in paragraph (ii.) above, whether there have in fact been measures of willful discrimination or willful obstruction on the part of the German Government or of German suppliers.

(vi.) In the event of the Arbitral Commission deciding this question in the affirmative, it shall require the German Government to insure the delivery of such quantities as it shall decide, and under such conditions, particularly as regards price, as it shall fix.

(vii.) Any disputes which may arise as to the interpretation of the decisions of the Arbitral Commission shall be submitted to it for final judgment.

(viii.) Nothing in this clause shall affect in any way the powers of the Transfer Committee as set out in the Experts' Report.

The above procedure will apply to the following products:

(i.) Coal, coke and lignite briquettes.

(ii.) Sulphate of ammonia prepared by synthetic processes and other synthetic nitrogenous products. These last-named products can only be called for simultaneously with synthetic sulphate of ammonia and up to a quantity corresponding to the proportion in which these products are manufactured as compared with sulphate of ammonia in the same period of manufacture.

(iii.) Products referred to in paragraph 5 of Annex VI. of Part VIII. of the Treaty of Versailles (English text) with the exception, as regards chemical products, of specialties manufactured by a single "concern."

As regards the products falling under (iii.), the special provisions of paragraph (d) will cease to apply on Aug. 15, 1928.

As regards the products falling under (ii.) and (iii.) above, the Special Committee provided for in Clause 3 will draw up a more detailed list. For certain among them it may fix maximum quantities as regards either weight or value; it may also exclude certain of them, if it is shown that they are indispensable for the protection of German national economy.

Clause 3—The German Government agrees to the appointment of a special committee, not exceeding six members, composed of an equal number of allied and German representatives, who shall be appointed by the Reparation Commission and the German Government respectively, with the power in the event of difference to co-opt an additional member of neutral nationality to be chosen by the allied and German members in agreement, or in default of agreement to be appointed by the Reparation Commission. This committee will be charged with the duty of—

(1) Determining the procedure for placing orders and the conditions for carrying out deliveries in kind so as to insure the satisfactory working of such deliveries, adhering as closely as possible to ordinary commercial usage.

(2) Examining the best means of insuring the fulfillment of the undertakings to be given by the German Government in accordance with Clause 2, paragraphs (c) and (d), of this agreement, in particular by providing for the reference to arbitration of any disagreements which may arise thereon between the interested parties, the decision of the arbitrator or arbitrators being binding on such parties.

(3) Examining the best means of applying the provisions of the Experts' Report relative to the limitation of deliveries to those which are not of an anti-economic character, and to recommend the measures to be taken against any persons who may infringe the prohibition against re-exportation of deliveries.

The members of the committee may be assisted by such experts as they may consider necessary.

The work of this committee is not in any way to delay the bringing into operation of the experts' plan, and its decisions are not to encroach in any way on the powers of the Transfer Committee to be set up under that plan. Its decisions must accordingly, before being carried out, be approved by the Reparation Commission and by the Transfer Committee, in so far as the latter is concerned. It is understood that the conclusions of this committee will not be modified without the consent of the German Government.

Clause 4—If differences of opinion should arise between the Transfer Committee and the German Government on any of the following points relating to the execution of Article VI. of Annex 6 of the Experts' Report, viz.: (1) the inclusion of any particular class of property in the list, (2) any modification in the list, (3) the scope of any class so included, or (4) the measures to be taken to secure that investments to be purchased by this procedure shall not be of a temporary character, such difference shall be referred, at the request of either party, to an arbitrator, (who, if the German Government so desire, shall be a national of a country not interested in German reparation payments) to be chosen by agreement between the two parties, or in default of agreement to be nominated by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of Inter-

national Justice at The Hague. The arbitrator shall decide whether any claim made or objection raised is justified or not, and in so doing shall in particular give consideration to the principles set out in Article VI., viz.: (1) That the investment must not be of a temporary character; and (2) that the German Government is required to have due regard to the necessity for making maximum payments to its creditors, but is also entitled to have regard to maintaining its control of its own internal economy.

The allied Governments agree that the Transfer Committee should only transfer paper marks for purchases under the operation of the said Article VI. if and when the accumulated funds exceed the amounts which the Bank of Issue will accept as short-term deposits.

Clause 5—If the Transfer Committee is equally divided in regard to the question whether concerted financial manoeuvres have been set on foot within the meaning of Article VIII. of Annex 6 of the experts' report, the question shall be referred to an independent and impartial arbitrator, who shall hear the views of each of the members of the committee and decide between them. The arbitrator shall be a financial expert selected by the members of the Transfer Committee in agreement, or, in default of an agreement, by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

On all other questions, if the Transfer Committee is equally divided, the Chairman shall have a casting vote.

If the funds at the disposal of the Agent General for Reparation Payments are at any time accumulated in Germany up to the limit of 5 milliards of gold marks referred to in Paragraph (a) of Article X. of Annex 6 of the Experts' report, or such lower figure as may be fixed by the Transfer Committee under Paragraph (b) of that article, and the committee has, by a majority, decided that concerted financial manoeuvres within the meaning of Article VIII. of that annex have not taken place, or that certain measures to defeat manoeuvres contemplated in that article should not be taken, any member of the minority of the committee may, within eight days, appeal against such decision to an arbitral tribunal, whose decision on the matters before them shall be final. The arbitral tribunal shall consist of three independent and impartial financial experts, including a citizen of the United States of America, who shall act as Chairman, such experts to be selected by the committee unanimously, or, failing unanimity, to be appointed by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

Clause 6.—If any Government interested (Allied or German) considers that a defect exists in the technical working of the Experts' Plan so far as it relates to the collection of German payments or the control of the securities therefor, which can be remedied without affecting the substantial principles of the plan, it may submit the question to the Reparation Commission, which will transmit it forthwith for inquiry and advice of a committee consisting of the Agent-General for Reparation Payments, the Trustee or Trustees for the Railway and Industrial Mortgage Bonds, the Railway Commissioner, the Bank Commissioner and the Commissioner of Controlled Revenues.

This Committee will, as soon as possible, transmit to the Reparation Commission either a unanimous report, or majority and minority reports, including, if necessary, proposals for the removal of any defect to which attention may have been drawn.

If the Reparation Commission arrives at a unanimous decision, it shall invite the German Government to adhere to it, and if an agreement is reached with the German Government on the subject, the necessary meas-

ures shall be carried into effect without delay.

If the Reparation Commission is not unanimous, or if any decision taken unanimously is not accepted by the German Government, any of the parties interested may submit the question to a committee of three independent and impartial experts chosen by agreement between the Reparation Commission deciding unanimously and the German Government, or, in default of such agreement, by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. The decision of this committee shall be final.

It is understood that this provision shall not apply to any question in regard to the disposal of the funds paid to the account of the Agent-General for Reparation Payments, or to any other matter which falls solely within the competence of the Transfer Committee.

Done at London the thirtieth day of August, 1924, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of His Britannic Majesty's Government, which will transmit a certified copy to the Reparation Commission for inclusion in the Agreement of Aug. 9, 1924, and to each of the signatory Governments.

ANNEX III.—AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS AND GERMANY

The Royal Government of Belgium, the Government of His Britannic Majesty (with the Government of the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and India), the Government of the French Republic, the Government of the Greek Republic, the Royal Government of Italy, the Imperial Government of Japan, the Government of the Portuguese Republic, the Royal Government of Rumania, and the Royal Government of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, of the one part, and the Government of the German Republic, of the other part.

Animated with the desire to bring into being as soon as possible, as regards matters affecting them, the plan presented to the Reparation Commission on April 9, 1924, by the First Committee of Experts appointed by it on Nov. 30, 1923, "to consider the means of balancing the budget and the measures to be taken to stabilize the currency of Germany," approved by the Commission and accepted by each of the interested powers,

Have resolved to conclude an agreement for this purpose, and, therefore, the undersigned duly authorized have agreed as follows:—

Article 1.—(A.) The Experts' Plan of April 9, 1924, will be considered as having been put into execution, except as regards measures to be taken by the Allied Governments, when the Reparation Commission has declared that the measures prescribed by it in its decision No. 2877 (4) of July 15, 1924, have been taken, that is to say:—

(1) That Germany has taken the following measures:—

(a) The voting by the Reichstag in the form approved by the Reparation Commission of the laws necessary to the working of the plan, and their promulgation.

(b) The installation with a view to their normal working of all the executive and controlling bodies provided for in the plan.

(c) The definitive constitution, in conformity with the provisions of the respective laws, of the Bank and the German Railway Company.

(d) The deposit with the trustees of certificates representing the railway bonds and such similar certificates for the industrial debentures as may result from the report of the Organization Committee.

(2) That contracts have been concluded assuring the subscription of the loan of 800 million gold marks as soon as the Plan has been brought into operation and all the conditions contained in the Experts' Report have been fulfilled.

(B.) The fiscal and economic unity of Germany will be considered to have been restored in accordance with the Experts' Plan when the Allied Governments have taken the following measures:—

(1) The removal and cessation of all vetoes imposed since Jan. 11, 1923, on German fiscal and economic legislation; the re-establishment of the German authorities with the full powers which they exercised in the occupied territories before Jan. 11, 1923, as regards the administration of customs and taxes, foreign commerce, woods and forests, railways (under the conditions specified in Article 5), and, in general, all other branches of economic and fiscal administration; the remaining administration not mentioned above will operate in every respect in conformity with the Rhineland Agreement; the formalities regarding the admission or re-admission of German officials will be applied in such a manner that the re-establishment of the German authorities, in particular the customs administration, may take place with the least possible delay; all this without other restrictions than those stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles, the Rhineland Agreement and the Experts' Plan.

(2) The restoration to their owners of all mines, cokeries and other industrial, agricultural, forest and shipping undertakings exploited under allied management or provisionally leased by the occupying authorities since Jan. 11, 1923.

(3) The withdrawal of the special organizations established to exploit the pledges and the release of requisitions made for the workings of those organizations.

(4) The removal, subject to the provisions of the Rhineland Agreement, of restrictions on the movement of persons, goods and vehicles.

(5) In general, the allied Governments, in order to insure in the occupied territories the fiscal and economic unity of Germany, will cause the Interallied Rhineland High Commission to proceed, subject to the provisions of the Rhineland Agreement, to an adjustment of the ordinances passed by the said commission since Jan. 11, 1923.

Article 2.—The Experts' Plan will be put into execution with the least possible delay. For this purpose the measures indicated in Article 1 will be taken as rapidly as possible; in particular, the laws necessary for the working of the plan will be promulgated immediately after they have been voted.

Article 3.—(1) Every effort shall be made to bring the Experts' Plan into full operation not later than Oct. 5, 1924.

(2) On Aug. 15, 1924, at the latest, the Reparation Commission ought to be in a position to announce that the German laws necessary for the working of the plan have been promulgated in the terms approved by it, and also that the Agent General for Reparation Payments has taken up his duties.

(3) Within five weeks (35 days) from the date of this first announcement (i. e., not later than Sept. 20, 1924) the commission should be in a position to announce that the other measures prescribed in its decision of July 15, 1924, mentioned in Article 1, have been fulfilled.

The Reparation Commission shall have power if necessary to advance these dates if circumstances permit, or to postpone them so far as may be deemed indispensable for the complete fulfillment of the above provisions.

The French and Belgian Governments undertake to fulfill within a fortnight after the date of the second announcement (i. e., by Oct. 5, 1924), the program laid down in

Article I for the restoration of Germany's fiscal and economic unity. They will notify the Reparation Commission of such fulfillment. The decision that the program has been fully executed will be taken by the Reparation Commission.

Article 4—(a) As soon as the first announcement referred to in Article 3 (2) has been made (i. e., on Aug. 15, 1924), and during the transition period between the first and second announcements (i. e., between Aug. 15 and Sept. 20, 1924), without waiting for the complete execution of the measures prescribed by the Reparation Commission in its decision of July 15, 1924, the French and Belgian Governments, being desirous of restoring in a large measure Germany's fiscal and economic unity as soon as possible, will take the following steps:

Eight days after the first announcement (i. e., Aug. 23, 1924), the levy of duties on the Eastern Customs Line (i. e., the customs barrier between occupied and unoccupied Germany) will cease.

Twenty days after the first announcement (Sept. 5), and earlier if possible, the allied authorities will reduce as far as possible the restrictions imposed since Jan. 11, 1923, on the movements of persons, goods and vehicles, especially between occupied and unoccupied Germany. Within the same period the French and Belgian Governments will have abolished the said Eastern Customs Line and will apply solely the legislation and tariffs in force in unoccupied Germany to collections and charges of all kinds levied by them in the occupied territories, as well as to the régime for external trade, except so far as concerns the Franco-Belgian Railway Régie, which will continue to apply its own tariffs.

(b) The aforesaid Governments will continue to levy the collections and charges thus adjusted, but will hand over to the Agent General for Reparation Payments the receipts accruing to them after the first announcement (Aug. 15, 1924) from the application of the new régime, including the net profits from the Franco-Belgian Railway Régie, but less the monthly deduction of a lump sum of two million gold marks to cover the cost of collection during the transition period.

(c) On its side the German Government will pay over to the Agent General for Reparation Payments during the transition period such monthly instalments as, added to the receipts above provided for, shall place at his disposal each month an amount equal to one-twelfth of the first annuity under the Experts' Plan, less the estimated receipts during the month from the operation of the British Reparation Recovery act or corresponding measures which may be adopted by the other allied Governments and the paper marks supplied to the armies of occupation. It is understood that the monthly burden to fall upon Germany during the transition period shall be one-twelfth of the first annuity of the global payment incumbent on Germany, as such global payment is defined in Section XI. of the Experts' Plan; to such monthly burden is to be added each month during the transition period the two millions of gold marks mentioned above.

(d) Payments toward the above-mentioned monthly sums will be made every ten days.

The first payment by Germany will take place on the date of the first announcement (Aug. 15, 1924).

The first payment by the French and Belgian Governments will be made ten days later (Aug. 25, 1924).

The first and second payments by Germany will amount to twenty million gold marks each. The third payment will consist of the balance of the payment to be made by Germany during the first month.

The subsequent payments by Germany shall be fixed by the Agent General for Repa-

ration Payments and shall be such as to place at the disposal of the Agent General during each period of ten days one-third of the monthly instalment stipulated above, taking into account the payments made by the French and Belgian Governments and the receipts from the Reparation Recovery acts, &c.

The payments by the French and Belgian Governments will only fall due in so far as the German Government has on its part effected its payments.

(e) With the resources thus placed at his disposal the Agent General for Reparation Payments shall provide for the payment of reparation and other treaty charges during the transition period, in conformity with the decisions as to distribution which will be taken by the Allied and Associated Governments.

In particular he shall place at the disposal of the interested Governments the sums necessary—

(1) To insure the complete financing of all agreements concerning deliveries in kind continued or entered into by them or by their representatives during the transition period, including the cost of the transport of the said deliveries, as provided by the Treaty of Versailles.

(2) To cover the working expenses of mines and cokeries under the allied management, including the cost of transport to the frontiers.

As a consequence of the above provisions and in order that the period during which German payments are made at the rate prescribed for the first annuity shall not exceed one year, the period corresponding to the first annuity in the Experts' Plan will be reduced by a period equal to that of the transition period, and the second annuity will begin immediately thereafter (i. e., Aug. 15, 1925).

Article 5.—Upon the second announcement (Sept. 20, 1924), the railway system of the Reich will be transferred to the new company contemplated by the Experts' Plan. As from that date the operation of all the lines now worked by the Deutsche Reichsbahn will pass to the said company. As from a fortnight after the second announcement (Oct. 5, 1924), the lines now operated by the Régie will be worked on account of the company under the control of the Railway Organization Committee.

As soon as the present agreement has been signed, the Organization Committee will place itself in communication with the Régie in order to arrange the details of the transfer. The actual transfer from the Régie to the company will be made step by step under the control of the Organization Committee with as little delay as is compatible with an orderly transfer. It shall be completed within a period of six weeks (by Nov. 20, 1924), the Organization Committee, however, having authority to grant extensions of time for the arrangement of details.

Article 6.—The detailed measures to be applied and the machinery to be set up in order to carry out the provisions of Articles 1b, 2, 3 and 4 (a) will be studied by technical conferences between the representatives of the interested allied authorities and the German departments concerned. These conferences will begin at Coblenz and Düsseldorf immediately after the London conference.

The measures to be applied as well as transitional measures shall be put into force in the occupied territories in the customary form.

Article 7.—In order to bring about mutual conciliation and in order to wipe out the past to the utmost possible extent, the allied Governments and the German Government have agreed on the following stipulations, it being understood that, as regards future incidents, the jurisdiction and legislation of Germany, notably in the matter of

the security of the State, and the jurisdiction and the legislation of the Occupying Authorities, notably in the matter of their security, will respectively follow their normal course in conformity with the treaty of peace and the Rhineland agreement:

(1) No one shall, under any pretext, be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, or subjected to any injury, whether material or moral, either by reason of acts committed exclusively or principally for political reasons or by reason of his political attitude in the occupied territories from Jan. 11, 1923, up to the putting into force of the present agreement, or by reason of his obedience or disobedience to orders, ordinances, decrees or other injunctions issued by the occupying authorities or the German authorities, respectively, and relating to events which have taken place within the same period, or by reason of his relations with the said authorities.

(2) The German Government and the allied Governments concerned will remit all sentences and penalties, judicial or administrative, imposed for the above facts from Jan. 11, 1923, up to the putting into force of the present agreement. It is understood that fines or other pecuniary penalties, whether judicial or administrative, already paid will not be reimbursed.

(3) The provisions of paragraphs (1) and (2) do not apply to crimes committed against the life of persons and resulting in death.

(4) The offenses to which the amnesty provided for in the stipulations of paragraphs (1) and (2) does not apply and which are at the present moment subject to the jurisdiction of the occupying authorities by reason of the creation of special organizations which are to be suppressed under the terms of the present agreement, will be transferred to the German tribunals.

(5) The Governments concerned will each take, so far as they are concerned, the measures necessary to assure the fulfillment of this article. If need arise, this fulfillment will be amicably arranged by the Governments concerned, and if necessary by means of mixed commissions set up by common agreement.

Article 8.—German-Allied Commissions of Arbitration, similar to those appointed in 1920, charged with the duty of deciding any disputes which the change of régime may give rise to between allied merchants and the German authorities, shall be set up by the Governments concerned.

Article 9.—The suppression of the Bad-Ems subcommittee on Oct. 5, 1924, shall not prejudice the full execution of Articles 264 to 267 of the Treaty of Versailles.

Article 10.—All disputes which may arise between the allied Governments or one of them on the one side and Germany on the other side with regard to the present agreement shall, if they cannot be settled by negotiation, be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Article 11.—The present agreement, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall come into force from the moment of signature.

Done at London the thirtieth day of August, 1924, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of his Britannic Majesty's Government, which will transmit certified copies to each of the parties.

ANNEX IV.—INTER-ALLIED AGREEMENT

The Royal Government of Belgium, the Government of his Britannic Majesty (with the Governments of the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and India), the Government of the French Republic, the Government of the Greek Republic, the Royal Government of

Italy, the Imperial Government of Japan, the Government of the Portuguese Republic, the Royal Government of Rumania, and the Royal Government of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State,

Anxious to provide for the complete fulfillment, so soon as they are concerned, of the plan presented to the Reparation Commission on April 9, 1924, by the First Committee of Experts appointed by it on Nov. 30, 1923, "to consider the means of balancing the budget and the measures to be taken to stabilize the currency of Germany," the said plan being approved by the commission and accepted by each of the interested powers, and

Having resolved to conclude an agreement for this purpose, the undersigned, duly authorized, have agreed as follows:

Article 1.—The Governments represented upon the Reparation Commission, acting under Paragraph 22 of Annex II. to Part VIII. (Reparation) of the Treaty of Versailles will modify the said Annex II. by the introduction of the following paragraphs, 2A and 16A, and by the amendment of Paragraph 17 as set out below:

Paragraph 2A—"When the Reparation Commission is deliberating on any point relating to the report presented on April 9, 1924, to the Reparation Commission by the First Committee of Experts appointed by it on Nov. 30, 1923, a citizen of the United States of America as provided below shall take part in the discussions and shall vote as if he had been appointed in virtue of Paragraph 2 of the present Annex.

"The American citizen shall be appointed by unanimous vote of the Reparation Commission within thirty days after the adoption of this amendment.

"In the event of the Reparation Commission not being unanimous, the appointment shall be made by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

"The person appointed shall hold office for five years, and may be reappointed. In the event of any vacancy the same procedure shall apply to the appointment of a successor.

"Provided always that if the United States of America are officially represented by a delegate on the Reparation Commission any American citizen appointed under the provisions of this paragraph shall cease to hold office, and no fresh appointment under these provisions shall be made as long as the United States are so officially represented."

Paragraph 16A—"In the event of any application that Germany be declared in default in any of the obligations contained either in this part of the present treaty as put into force on Jan. 10, 1920, and subsequently amended in virtue of Paragraph 22 of the present annex, or in the Experts' Plan dated April 9, 1924, it will be the duty of the Reparation Commission to come to a decision thereon. If the decision of the Reparation Commission granting or rejecting such application has been taken by a majority, any member of the Reparation Commission who has participated in the vote may within eight days from the date of the said decision appeal from that decision to an arbitral commission composed of three impartial and independent persons, whose decision shall be final. The members of the arbitral commission shall be appointed for five years by the Reparation Commission, deciding by a unanimous vote, or, failing unanimity, by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. At the end of the five-year period, or in case of vacancies arising during such period, the same procedure will be followed as in the case of the first appointments. The President of the arbitral commission shall be a citizen of the United States of America."

Paragraph 17—"If a default by Germany

is established under the foregoing conditions the commission will forthwith give notice of such default to each of the interested powers and may make such recommendations as to the action to be taken in consequence of such default as it may think necessary."

Article 2—In accordance with the provisions of the Experts' Plan, sanctions will not be imposed on Germany in pursuance of Paragraph 18 of Annex II. to Part VIII. (Reparation, of the Treaty of Versailles unless a default within the meaning of Section III. of Part I. of the report of the said Committee of Experts has been declared under the conditions laid down by the said annex as amended in conformity with this agreement.

In this case the signatory Governments, acting with the consciousness of joint trusteeship for the financial interests of themselves and of the persons who advance money upon the lines of the said plan, will confer at once on the nature of the sanctions to be applied and on the method of their rapid and effective application.

Article 3—In order to secure the service of the loan of 800,000,000 gold marks contemplated by the Experts' Plan, and in order to facilitate the issue of that loan to the public, the signatory Governments hereby declare that in case sanctions have to be imposed in consequence of a default by Germany they will safeguard any specific se-

curities which may be pledged to the service of the loan.

The signatory Governments further declare that they consider the service of the loan as entitled to absolute priority as regards any resources of Germany so far as such resources may have been subjected to a general charge in favor of the said loan and also as regards any resources that may arise as a result of the imposition of sanctions.

Article 4—Any dispute between the signatories in the preceding articles of this 2 or 3 of the present agreement shall, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Article 5—Unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the preceding articles of this agreement, all the existing rights of the signatory Governments under the Treaty of Versailles read with the report of the experts referred to in Article 2 are reserved.

Article 6—The present agreement, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall come into force from the moment of signature.

Done at London the — day of August, 1924, in a single copy, which will remain deposited in the archives of his Britannic Majesty's Government, which will transmit certified copies to each of the parties.

Deaths of Persons of Prominence

GEORGE SHIRAS JR., American jurist and Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1892-1903, at Pittsburgh, Pa., Aug. 2, aged 92.

GENERAL SIR DIGHTON PROBYN, V. C., British soldier and a friend of King Edward for fifty-two years, at Sandringham, England, aged 91.

CHARLES E. TOWNSEND, American legislator, a member of the International Joint Commission and former United States Senator, at Jackson, Mich., Aug. 3, aged 68.

HARRY DAVIDSON, noted wood engraver, at New York, Aug. 11, aged 76.

JAMES S. SEYMOUR, American publisher, at Bronxville, N. Y., Aug. 11, aged 64. He was for many years business director of The New York Evening Post.

VISCOUNT FRANCIS KNOLLYS, private secretary to King George of Great Britain, at Rickmansworth, England, Aug. 15, aged 87.

LORD NUNBURNHOLME, British soldier and former member of Parliament, at Leeds, England, Aug. 15, aged 49.

ADMIRAL SIR CYPRIAN A. G. BRIDGE, British naval authority, at London, Aug. 16, aged 85.

LEBARON BRADFORD COLT, at Bristol, R. I., Aug. 18, aged 78. Mr. Colt, a Republican, was serving his second term as United States Senator from Rhode Island.

LUCY PACE GASTON, founder of the Anti-Cigarette League of America, at Chicago, Ill., Aug. 20, aged 64.

CHARLES B. LEWIS ("M. QUAD"), American

humorist and newspaper columnist, at New York, Aug. 21, aged 82.

GEORGE LAUDER, capitalist and former partner of Andrew Carnegie, at Greenwich, Conn., Aug. 24, aged 87.

THOMAS ALLEN, American artist and Chairman of the Boston Art Commission, at Worcester, Mass., aged 74.

SIR WILLIAM MADDOCK BAYLISS, F. R. S., Professor of Physiology at University College, London, at Hempstead, England, Aug. 26, aged 64.

HENRY WILLIAM MASSINGHAM, noted British publicist and an outstanding figure in Liberal journalism, at Tintagel, Cornwall, Aug. 28, aged 64. Mr. Massingham retired last year as editor of The Nation, which post he had held for sixteen years.

HENRY J. CASE, inventor of harvesting machinery, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Aug. 31, aged 84.

LIEUT. GEN. SAMUEL BALDWIN YOUNG, U. S. A., first President of the War College, at Helena, Mont., Sept. 1, aged 84.

ADAM WILLIS WAGNALLS, publisher and co-founder and President of the firm of Funk & Wagnalls, New York, at Northport, N. Y., Sept. 3, aged 80.

MARIE VALERIE HAPSBURG, former Archduchess of Austria and daughter of the late Emperor Francis Josef, at Castle Wallsee, Lower Austria, Sept. 8.

ALEXANDER POPE, American animal painter, at Hingham, Mass., on Sept. 9, aged 75.